MARCH 11, 2019

TIME

THE TRIUMPH *of* JULIA LOUIS-DREYFUS

By MOLLY BALL

+

15 PEOPLE CHANGING COMEDY

HELP
SAVE
THE
FRIDGE
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The fridge needs help. Because much of the energy we need to power it produces waste, pollutes the atmosphere and changes the climate. We can transition the way we produce and use energy in a way that will contribute to a sustainable future. We're campaigning in countries all around the world to provide the solutions for governments, for companies and for all members of society to make the right choices about energy conservation and use. And you, as an individual, can help just by the choices you make. Help us look after the world where you live at **panda.org**
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Violence broke out between government forces and opposition activists on Feb. 23 in Cúcuta, Colombia, over U.S. aid at the Simón Bolívar International Bridge to Venezuela

Photograph by TIME

ON THE COVER: *TIME photo-illustration. Photograph by Ramona Rosales for TIME*

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Conversation

WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

ROAD TO 2020 Tim O'Brien's illustration on the March 4 cover, of President Trump's potential 2020 challengers from the left gazing in the Oval Office window, deserves a "gold star," wrote Joseph Postman of Philomath, Ore., for making him laugh once when he retrieved it from the mailbox and "again when I sat down to read the issue." The cover also seemed to amuse the team at *Mad* magazine, which tweeted an altered cover that replaced Trump with its mascot Alfred E. Neuman. However, several Twitter users disagreed with Molly Ball and Philip Elliott's reporting, in the accompanying story, of the Democratic Party's base as divided. The situation is not one of disagreement, argued @akaRachel101 on Twitter, but one in which "there are just a lot of well-qualified people!"

'Too many candidates campaigning TOO SOON!'

J. WARE RICKETTS, Bexley, Ohio

THE BEST MEDICINE Alice Park's March 4 feature about doctors prescribing food to patients prompted discussion on Twitter about its policy implications. "This is why we need to support programs that encourage and provide access to healthy eating," wrote Ohio Democratic Congressman Tim Ryan. Twitter user @TAHRA27 posited that if healthy food were a "covered benefit for high-risk groups," health care costs might decline. And, noted Chase Sova of World Food Program USA, looking at food as medicine "forces us also to look upstream at the policies that support WHAT is grown and HOW access to healthy foods is ensured for all."

'It's horrifying that this is just now being prioritized in 2019.'

@KENDRAMARIELOVE

FANTASY VS. REALITY This week's special section on the future of comedy marks Julia Louis-Dreyfus' first real appearance on the cover of TIME. (**The fake cover seen at left** was created for the opening credits of *Veep*.) In a video interview, she discusses the show's last season and the "high" of making people laugh. Watch at **time.com/JLD**

***TIME* FLIES** In February 1963, on the equivalent of this page, TIME introduced readers to Randall Salas, a 17-year-old in Caracas who collected signed covers of the magazine. TIME Video recently caught up with him and his collection, which has grown to about 1,500 autographs. Watch at **time.com/autographs**

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BETHANY MOLLENKOF FOR TIME

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TIME AT THE OSCARS

Hollywood's brightest night

FOR MORE THAN A decade, Madonna and entertainment mogul Guy Oseary have hosted one of Hollywood's most exclusive Oscars-weekend soirees, known simply as "The Party." This year, for the first time, TIME partnered with artist JR at the event to create photographs of the winners and party-goers. The Party has a strict ban on social media and guest photography, meaning that JR was the only one on hand to document the evening.

JR, who says he nearly got thrown out of The Party for taking an illicit picture of Michael Jordan and Pharrell the first time he attended, has set up a photo studio at the gathering to take portraits of guests since 2017.

"Cinema has always had a huge influence on me," JR says. "Last year I was nominated for an Academy Award, and I still spent most of that night creating new images at the very party I was almost kicked out of."

This year's attendees had plenty to celebrate. It was a night filled with historic firsts—*Black Panther*'s Ruth E. Carter and Hannah Beachler became the first black women to win in their respective categories (Costume Design and Production Design)—and emotional moments, including Lady Gaga and Bradley Cooper's stirring performance of their award-winning song "Shallow." See more at **time.com/jr-oscars**

Freeze frame Top right: host Madonna hugging Lady Gaga, who is holding her Academy Award for Best Original Song for "Shallow" from *A Star Is Born*. Counterclockwise from top left: Mark Ronson, right, who shared the award with Gaga, with the DJ Diplo; actors Mila Kunis and Ashton Kutcher; Grammy Award winner Jennifer Lopez and former New York Yankee Alex Rodriguez; actor Javier Bardem; and model Naomi Campbell.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JR FOR TIME

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TO THOSE WHO NEVER
LET YOU DOWN.

–Raised Right–

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‘I’ve been doing this for 30 years. I know what I’m doing.’

DIANNE FEINSTEIN, U.S. Senator, to a group of young climate activists who confronted her at her San Francisco office; she told them that while she wants legislation on climate change, she does not believe the Green New Deal will pass in the Senate

‘If there ever was a time to discuss “the place of women in the Armed Services,” that time has passed.’

GRAY H. MILLER, federal judge, ruling that the U.S.’s all-male military draft is unconstitutional given that women already serve in combat roles

‘RATIONAL PEOPLE DON’T RISK WHAT THEY HAVE AND NEED FOR WHAT THEY DON’T HAVE AND DON’T NEED.’

WARREN BUFFETT, Berkshire Hathaway CEO, in his annual letter to shareholders

‘I can’t believe a film about menstruation just won an Oscar!’

RAYKA ZEHTABCHI, director, accepting the Oscar for Best Documentary Short for *Period. End of Sentence.*

‘I now had to give in to a body that had loss of control, and there was some relief in that.’

SELMA BLAIR, actor, on learning she has multiple sclerosis, in a *Good Morning America* interview that aired after her first public appearance since her diagnosis last August

30 million

Approximate number of pages of information stored on a disc designed to be a “backup for human civilization,” launched on Feb. 21 aboard the first privately funded Israeli spacecraft headed to the moon

$3.70

Average amount of money that the Tooth Fairy leaves kids per tooth, according to a survey of parents by Delta Dental Plans Association

O’Hare
400+ flights were canceled at Chicago airports on Feb. 20 over winter weather

Tortoise
One was spotted on the Galápagos island of Fernandina on Feb. 17, for the first time since 1906

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: AP; CBS CHICAGO; DISCOVERY; NEW YORK TIMES

The Brief

TURNING ON TRUMP
The President's ex-lawyer Michael Cohen testifies on Feb. 27 before House investigators

INSIDE

TENSIONS RISE IN KASHMIR AS INDIA AND PAKISTAN EXCHANGE AIRSTRIKES

BEFORE 5G TECHNOLOGY CAN BE A REALITY IN THE U.S., A FEW THINGS HAVE TO CHANGE

POPE FRANCIS CALLS FOR ACTION ON ABUSE, BUT SOME SURVIVORS WANT MORE

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHIP SOMODEVILLA

NATION

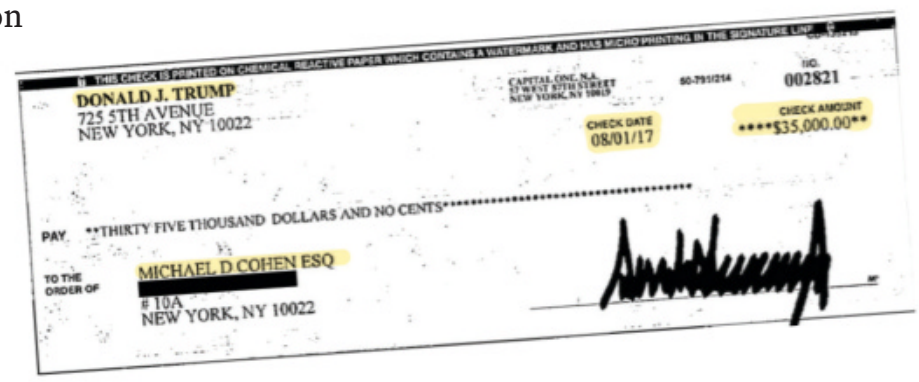
Trump, Cohen and the litany of low motives

By Brian Bennett and Tessa Berenson

DURING 10 YEARS OF SERVICE, MICHAEL Cohen says, he threatened hundreds of people on behalf of his boss, Donald J. Trump: he strong-armed contractors, browbeat reporters and warned schools against releasing Trump's grades. But sitting before the House Committee on Oversight and Reform on Feb. 27, Cohen himself became a threat as he ticked off a long list of potentially criminal acts committed by Trump and laid bare the many legal and political perils the President faces for his conduct as a businessman, candidate and Commander in Chief.

It was a sordid scene. Cohen produced a check, signed by Trump, allegedly reimbursing him for the hush-money payment to porn star Stormy Daniels. He claimed that Trump inflated his assets to request a bank loan and that he used money from the Trump Foundation to run up the auction price of a portrait of himself. Cohen also described hearing longtime Trump adviser Roger Stone tell Trump in advance about a 2016 WikiLeaks release of emails that would damage Hillary Clinton's campaign.

Cohen says Trump reimbursed him for hush-money payments made during the campaign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Republicans argued that Cohen, who will start a three-year prison sentence in May for campaign-finance violations, tax evasion and bank fraud, was an untrustworthy witness. "It's laughable that anyone would take a convicted liar like Cohen at his word," said White House press secretary Sarah Sanders. But as the country awaits special counsel Robert Mueller's report on possible collusion between Trump's 2016 campaign and Russia, even Cohen's failings highlight the dangers confronting the President. Trump has always been driven, his longtime lieutenant alleges, not by a grand scheme to undermine American democracy but rather by a litany of low motives: personal power, self-preservation and greed.

COHEN'S MOST EXPLOSIVE TESTIMONY included an allegation that Trump committed a crime after becoming President. He said that during a conversation in the Oval Office in early 2017, the President promised to reimburse him for payments Cohen had made to Daniels in exchange for her silence about an alleged affair with Trump. Cohen showed the committee a copy of a check dated August 2017 from Trump's personal bank account and signed by the President. If Trump knowingly reimbursed Cohen to limit political damage, which Trump denies, he likely violated campaign-finance laws. Cohen himself pleaded guilty in August 2018 to violating campaign-finance laws related to his role in these payments.

Cohen also alleged that Trump intentionally inflated his financial assets when it suited his needs. He showed the committee financial statements from 2011 to 2013 that he said Trump gave to Deutsche Bank to obtain a loan to try to buy the NFL's Buffalo Bills. Both Cohen and Trump's former campaign manager Paul Manafort were convicted of bank fraud. If Trump lied about his assets to Deutsche Bank, he could face the same fate once he leaves office. Current Justice Department policy says a sitting President can't be indicted.

Cohen again raised eyebrows when he was asked whether the President compelled him to lie. Cohen pleaded guilty to perjuring himself in written testimony to Congress in 2017; now he says Trump and two lawyers reviewed that testimony beforehand. Cohen also said Trump implicitly directed him to lie about negotiations to build a Trump Tower in Moscow during the 2016 campaign. "He would look me in the eye and tell me there's no business in Russia and then go out and lie to the American people by saying the same thing," Cohen said. "In his way, he was telling me to lie."

'He would look me in the eye and tell me there's no business in Russia ... In his way, he was telling me to lie.'

MICHAEL COHEN

In the claim that circled closest to Mueller's probe, Cohen said he was present when Stone phoned Trump to inform him that WikiLeaks was preparing to publish emails stolen from the Democratic National Committee. Trump was reportedly asked by Mueller about his contacts with Stone, and provided detailed answers under oath. Stone was indicted in January for obstruction, false statements and witness tampering, and he denies Cohen's allegations.

It is now clearer than ever that Trump's legal troubles go well beyond the Mueller investigation. His businesses, family charity, campaign, Inauguration, Administration and even his Washington hotel remain tangled in investigations and civil lawsuits in multiple federal and state jurisdictions. Cohen testified that Manhattan federal prosecutors, for example, are probing other alleged crimes, with his help.

Cohen's testimony was only the first of what may be dozens of high-wattage congressional hearings this year. Other potential witnesses to the President's alleged misdeeds: his family, his former National Security Adviser and Mueller himself. —*With reporting by* ALANA ABRAMSON/WASHINGTON

PREVIOUS PAGE: GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: CHECK: COURTESY LANNY DAVIS—AP; NORTH KOREA: SAUL LOEB—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

TABLE FOR TWO President Donald Trump dined with North Korea's Kim Jong Un on Feb. 27 in Hanoi, where the leaders met for a second summit on North Korea's nuclear-weapons program. Their first meeting last June resulted in an official commitment to "work toward complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula," but progress stalled over the past year as Pyongyang continued to work on its arsenal.

THE BULLETIN

Pakistan and India trade airstrikes as tensions rise over Kashmir

WITH TIT-FOR-TAT AIRSTRIKES ACROSS a cease-fire line in late February, tensions between India and Pakistan rose to their highest point in years. The two nuclear-armed states have long clashed over the disputed Himalayan territory of Kashmir, which each claims as its own. But the situation deteriorated there after a Feb. 14 bombing by a Pakistan-based militant group killed 40 Indian paramilitaries, the deadliest attack in 30 years.

CONFLICTING CLAIMS India sent jets into Pakistani airspace on Feb. 26 for the first time since 1971, and bombed what it said was a training camp for the terrorist organization responsible for the Feb. 14 attack. Pakistan denied any such sites were hit. The next day, Pakistan launched strikes of its own. It said it had shot down two Indian jets that it claimed had strayed into its airspace on an apparent retaliatory mission, and captured a pilot. The two sides also traded mortar fire across the line of control in Kashmir, and Islamabad said shells killed six Pakistani civilians.

THE WARPATH Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi is seeking re-election this spring, and the warlike atmosphere could help reverse momentum against his Hindu-nationalist ruling party. A hard line on Muslim-majority Kashmir—tapping into tensions between Hindus and Muslims—tends to play well with his party's base. "For Modi, this is an opportunity to project the aura of 'strong leadership,'" says Sumantra Bose of the London School of Economics.

EXERCISING RESTRAINT While many commentators have taken a belligerent tone, both sides have kept open the possibility of de-escalation. Islamabad said its attacks had purposely avoided military or civilian areas, and Indian political leaders remained notably tight-lipped. It would be "insane to talk about" using nuclear weapons, a spokesperson for the Pakistani military said on Feb. 27. But even as U.S. and North Korean leaders met in Vietnam to discuss denuclearization, Kashmir provided a reminder that North Korea isn't the world's only nuclear flashpoint. —BILLY PERRIGO

NEWS TICKER

Netanyahu aligns with extremist party

Israeli leader Benjamin Netanyahu sparked outcry by **striking an electoral pact with the ultra-right-wing, anti-Arab Jewish Power Party** ahead of April 9 elections. America's largest pro-Israel lobbying group, AIPAC, which typically supports him, on Feb. 22 called the Party "racist and reprehensible."

House votes to block Trump emergency

The U.S. House approved a resolution on Feb. 26 that would end the national emergency at the U.S.-Mexico border, which President Trump declared as a way to fund **a border wall without congressional approval.** The resolution now goes to the Senate.

May offers an extension on Brexit

As Britain approaches the March 29 deadline for leaving the E.U., Prime Minister Theresa May said Feb. 26 that lawmakers will get to **choose whether Britain leaves the E.U. without a deal in place** if hers is rejected by Parliament on March 12. If they rule out a no-deal Brexit, they will then get a vote on delaying departure.

NEWS TICKER

FDA examines opioids' effect on pain

In an attempt to combat the U.S. opioid epidemic, the Food and Drug Administration will order **drug companies to study whether prescription opioids are actually effective in stopping chronic pain.** Some research has suggested that opioids, which can lead to addiction, may not help long-term pain.

Buhari wins Nigeria's elections

On Feb. 27, Nigeria's electoral commission declared that **incumbent Muhammadu Buhari, 76, had won a second four-year term** in presidential elections marred by delays and violence at the polls that left as many as 39 people dead. Opposition leader Atiku Abubakar vowed to challenge the results.

Chicago to have first black female mayor

Two African-American women took the top spots in Chicago's mayoral election on Feb. 26. They are now **headed for a runoff election in April.** Whether Lori Lightfoot or Toni Preckwinkle wins, the next mayor will make history when she takes over from the city's current leader, Rahm Emanuel.

GOOD QUESTION

Trump says he wants 5G and 6G. What would that mean for Internet users?

THOUGH PRESIDENT TRUMP TWEETED ON Feb. 21 that he wants "5G, and even 6G, technology in the United States as soon as possible," that kind of upgrade to the nation's Internet is easier typed than done.

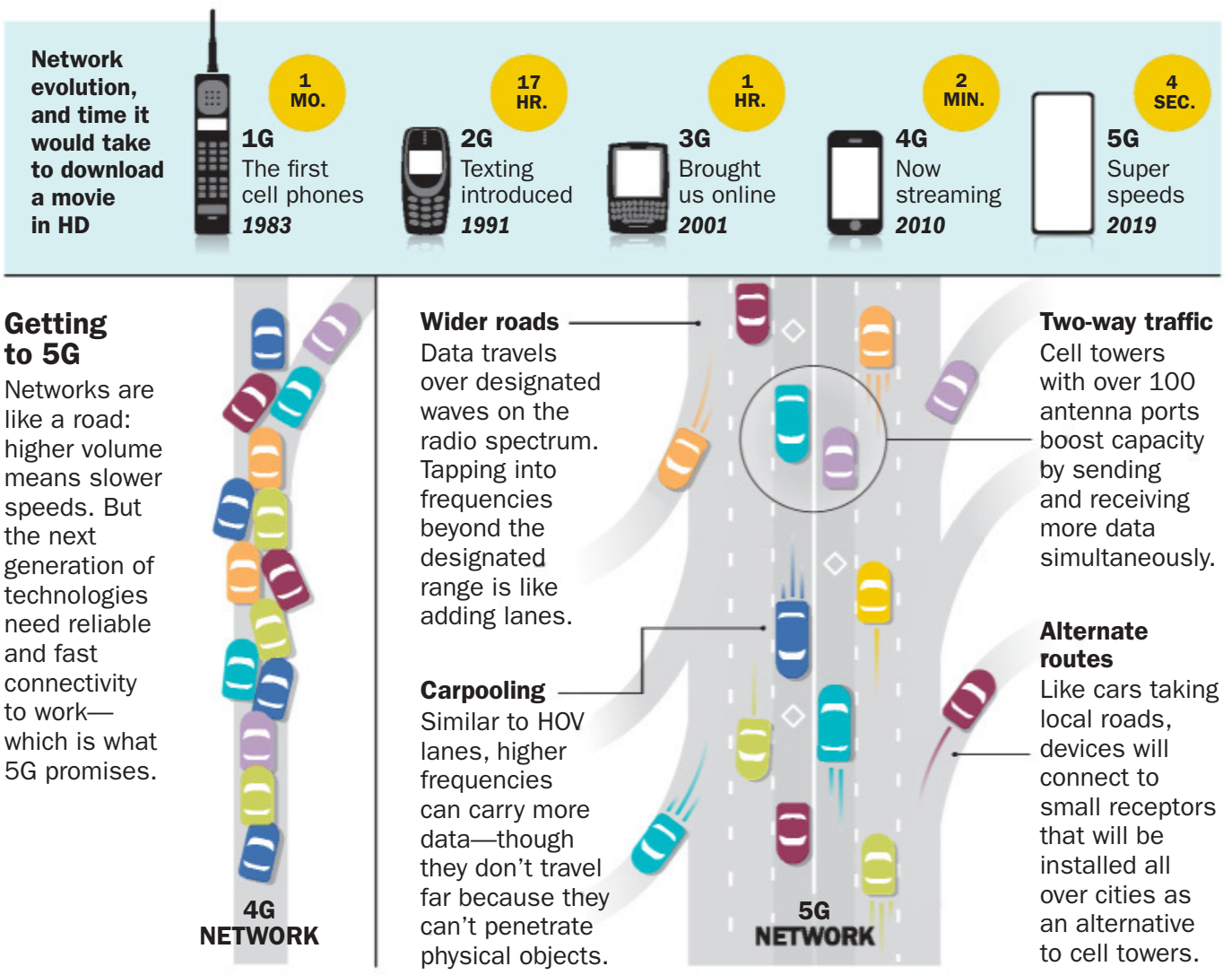
The term *5G* is simply the name given to the next generation in wireless cellular technology, which is the fifth. Like the jump from DSL to fiber Internet, the move to 5G will bring with it faster data speeds—a hundredfold increase over today's standards—as well as lower latency (a measure of delayed response) and increased support for even more connected devices. That means smartphone owners will be able to play games lag-free, autonomous vehicles could react instantly to changes in traffic, and smart homes could get even smarter.

But, though more 5G-friendly phones will debut for U.S. users later this year, actual 5G networks are few and far between at the moment. Change is coming, but carriers will first have to install more cellular equipment to transmit higher frequencies over shorter distances. In addition, wireless signals travel on the electromagnetic spectrum—just the same way radio, light and all your favorite waves do—and for 5G to work, carriers need to use a wider array of that spectrum than they've needed access to in the past. They'll have to acquire it from other companies or the Federal Communications Commission, which regulates commercial use of the spectrum.

On top of that, security officials have warned that Chinese companies like Huawei and ZTE, major manufacturers of 5G equipment, could allow Beijing to conduct surveillance on foreign users. A recently introduced bipartisan bill seeks to prevent them from supplying U.S. wireless carriers, forcing wireless companies to work with other manufacturers.

As for 6G? While that will most likely be the name given to the next logical step in the advancement of cellular technology, no such standard has been defined—we've only just begun deploying 5G, after all. Still, research on the potential uses for 6G (referred to as 6Genesis) is being conducted at Finland's University of Oulu. With an estimated debut in 2030, don't hold your breath.

—PATRICK LUCAS AUSTIN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17 HR.
2G
Texting introduced
1991
1 HR.
3G
Brought us online
2001
2 MIN.
4G
Now streaming
2010
4 SEC.
5G
Super speeds
2019
Getting to 5G
Networks are like a road: higher volume means slower speeds. But the next generation of technologies need reliable and fast connectivity to work—which is what 5G promises.
4G NETWORK
Wider roads
Data travels over designated waves on the radio spectrum. Tapping into frequencies beyond the designated range is like adding lanes.
Carpooling
Similar to HOV lanes, higher frequencies can carry more data—though they don't travel far because they can't penetrate physical objects.
Two-way traffic
Cell towers with over 100 antenna ports boost capacity by sending and receiving more data simultaneously.
Alternate routes
Like cars taking local roads, devices will connect to small receptors that will be installed all over cities as an alternative to cell towers.
5G NETWORK

GRAPHIC REPORTING BY EMILY BARONE

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KILLED
A **record number of civilians,** by the conflict in Afghanistan in 2018, according to a new U.N. report. Last year the war caused the deaths of 3,804 civilians.

NAMED
Princess Reema bint Bandar bin Sultan, as **Saudi Arabia's ambassador to the U.S.** on Feb. 23. She is the first woman to hold the position.

SUED
President Donald Trump, by former campaign staffer Alva Johnson, who accused him in a suit filed Feb. 25 of kissing her without consent in 2016. The White House denies the charge.

UPHELD
A **ban on LGBT clergy and same-sex marriages,** by the United Methodist Church at a conference on Feb. 26. The global church narrowly rejected liberalizing.

LAUNCHED
Impeachment proceedings against **Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko,** by members of the country's parliament.

CHARGED
New England Patriots owner **Robert Kraft,** with soliciting sex, as part of a prostitution and human-trafficking investigation, on Feb. 22. Kraft denied he did anything illegal.

PLEADED
Not guilty, by singer **R. Kelly** on Feb. 25 after he was charged with 10 counts of aggravated criminal sex abuse.

Donen, who would receive an honorary Academy Award for lifetime achievement 40 years later, at work in 1958

DIED

Stanley Donen
Cinema's dance master

By Mitzi Gaynor

IMAGINE HAVING TO CORRAL YUL BRYNNER, NOËL COWARD and me during an outdoor shoot on the Greek isle of Rhodes circa 1959—along with Noël's delightfully in-character request, "Let's stop for tea, dear," just as we're losing the light. The unenviable task fell to our director, the great Stanley Donen, whom we were privileged to work with on an opus titled *Surprise Package*. Stanley, who died on Feb. 21 at 94, handled the whole thing with his typical grand style, an incredible eye and tremendous grace.

All three of those characteristics should be familiar to anyone who has even a casual appreciation of his work, if you can be casual about *Singin' in the Rain* and *On the Town* (on which he shared directing credit with Gene Kelly). Or *Funny Face, Seven Brides for Seven Brothers, Charade* and so many others. If he'd given us only one of those, we'd still be talking about him.

People often speak of a Golden Age of Hollywood when referring to his films. That's almost too abstract. Stanley helped make the movies sing and dance and be funny, and in doing so made a big, fabulous, golden, make-believe world very real in our lives. What a joy that we'll always get to delight in those precious gifts of his.

Gaynor is a Golden Globe–nominated actor

DIED

Mark Hollis
Daring pop songwriter

THE 1984 HIT SINGLE "IT'S My Life" remains Mark Hollis' most popular song. But the slick synth-pop track, still synonymous with '80s new-wave style, only showed one sliver of the expansive musical imagination of the British singer-songwriter, who died at 64 on Feb. 25.

Beloved by fellow musicians for his creative uses of silence, instrumentation and deft lyricism, Hollis was a reluctant pop star turned post-rock icon. In the early 1980s, as the front man of London-based quartet Talk Talk, he was the face of era-defining hits. But from the band's 1988 third album on, he made a radical departure into a new world of sonic experimentation, combining jazzy noise, hushed vocals and an elastic approach to timing. He pursued his singular musical vision in new, increasingly acoustic directions for another decade, unbothered by commercial demands, until he retired to focus on his family. That daring work still influences avant-garde songwriters today. And yet the notorious perfectionist's musical advice was simple: "Before you play two notes, learn how to play one note."

—RAISA BRUNER

DONEN: RONALD GRANT ARCHIVE/ALAMY; HOLLIS: DPA PICTURE ALLIANCE/ALAMY

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THE VATICAN

Pope takes on abuse, too slowly for some

By Ciara Nugent

POPE FRANCIS ARRIVED AT THE VATICAN IN 2013 promising "decisive action" on the child sex-abuse crisis that has racked the Catholic Church for at least three decades. Survivors around the world had told of horrific assaults by priests and callous cover-ups by senior clerics; in the U.S. alone, a 2004 church-commissioned report recorded over 10,000 accusations against more than 4,000 priests. Since then, the evidence has only grown. Yet advocates say Francis has offered little to restore the moral authority of the church beyond strong words.

Much then was left riding on the landmark summit the Pope called for Feb. 21–24. Nearly 200 bishops, Cardinals and other senior clerics gathered in the Vatican to hear recorded testimony from survivors, listen to speeches and hold group discussions, all with the aim of getting on the same page. As if to announce a new seriousness of purpose, the church expelled the former Archbishop of Washington, D.C., Theodore E. McCarrick, just days before, on Feb. 16—the first Cardinal to be defrocked over the sexual abuse of minors in modern times. Francis used the summit to call for an "all-out battle" against abuse, and church leaders hailed it as an unprecedented confrontation with the ugliest parts of their organization. "I am convinced that this was a moment of deep transformation," Father Hans Zollner, one of the church's top experts on child protection and the summit's organizer, tells TIME.

But many activists and survivors expected more. Francis offered no detailed plan on how to prevent abuse, or binding rules on how to deal with abusers and cooperate with law enforcement. A promise to issue a new guidebook for bishops received short shrift from advocates. "Over the years, we've seen many church leaders write new guidelines, which are then developed, watered down, published and ignored," says Colm O'Gorman, an Irish survivor of clergy abuse who now heads the Irish branch of Amnesty International. "There's nothing unprecedented about this."

THE POPE'S CHALLENGE is magnified by uneven attitudes across the church's many regions. In countries like the U.S., Canada, Australia, Spain, Germany and Ireland, the lengthy list of scandals and revelations has become part of the public consciousness, and top-level clerics are finally facing justice. On Feb. 26, for example, an Australian court revealed that Cardinal George Pell, formerly Francis' top financial adviser, had been found guilty last year of molesting two choirboys in the 1990s.

But in much of Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa—regions that have become crucial for the future of the church as its membership has declined in Europe and the U.S.—no such reckoning has occurred.

In areas where sexuality and sexual violence remain taboo subjects, there is less civil-society momentum to turn abuse into a church priority, and the risk to survivors for speaking up is much greater. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, for example, the watchdog group Bishops Accountability says the lone prominent survivor of abuse was ostracized by his family when he came forward. Sister Veronica Openibo, a Nigerian-born nun who addressed the summit with a scathing criticism of the clergy's "mediocrity, hypocrisy and complacency" on abuse, later told a press conference that some African bishops "were not happy" with her focus. They "felt there were more important issues in Africa," she said, giving child soldiers and child trafficking as examples. Juan Carlos Cruz, a Chilean survivor of sex abuse as a minor, tells TIME that he struggled for years to be believed by clergy in his country and that attitudes have barely evolved in the rest of Latin America. "Bishops generally don't see this as a problem that plagues their particular country or church," he says.

'How could the clerical church have kept silent, covering these atrocities?'

SISTER VERONICA OPENIBO

SOME ADVOCATES BELIEVE the Pope is also afraid to rock the boat by moving too fast. He is already struggling to bridge a divide between his liberal wing of the church and conservatives who disapprove of his relaxed stances on issues like homosexuality and second marriages. "Keeping the church together is clearly his priority," says Anna Frankowska, a lawyer at the Polish survivors' group Have No Fear, who met with Francis ahead of the summit to present him with a report accusing 24 Polish bishops, some still active, of covering up abuses as recently as 2012. "The Pope clearly gets it, but he's scared of upsetting bishops who don't."

Zollner says Francis believes he must unify the clergy on the importance of dealing with the crisis before issuing top-down rules. "The Catholic Church is not a multinational organism, like one big company where we all have the same way of talking about things," he says.

To survivors, though, the Pope has a duty to lead concrete change throughout the church, and many believe the summit was the time to start. "He missed the perfect opportunity," says Matthias Katsch, a German survivor and campaigner. He says a churchwide canon law on abuse is essential to achieve justice for the horrors of the past and to bring to light hidden ongoing crises. "He thinks we need to give everyone more time to understand the issue before we do that? That's putting children at risk and leaving survivors to suffer endlessly. It's a disaster." ◻

GIUSEPPE LAMI—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Pope Francis celebrates Mass in the Vatican on Feb. 24, the final day of his landmark sex-abuse summit

Novelist **Meg Wolitzer** had fun at the Oscars but would rather avoid the news cycle

By Lucy Feldman

"YOU STILL HAVE TO WALK ON THE RED CARPET, even if they aren't looking at you," Meg Wolitzer says, swiping through photos from the Academy Awards over breakfast the Tuesday after the ceremony. Less than 48 hours earlier, the novelist had taken her seat on the second mezzanine of the Dolby Theatre, in the same section as Rami Malek's mother, who would watch her son accept the award for Best Actor. Wolitzer was herself hoping to witness someone important to her collect a trophy: Glenn Close, the star of *The Wife,* the movie based on Wolitzer's 2003 novel of the same name.

Close had sailed through wins at the Golden Globes and Screen Actors Guild Awards and so was presumed a shoo-in to win her first Oscar after leaving six previous ceremonies empty-handed. But then Frances McDormand opened the envelope and read off the winner's name: Olivia Colman, for *The Favourite.* "There's nothing you can do," Wolitzer says, squeezing lemon into her tea at a New York City bistro. "It was an extraordinary evening with a big pang at the end, but it was still extraordinary."

Recent months have been crazed for the 59-year-old novelist. She's done press for *The Wife* since its opening last summer; published a middle-grade novel with her friend Holly Goldberg Sloan in mid-February, then traveled to promote it; and jetted to Los Angeles to bask in Oscar glory alongside Close, with whom she has bonded over, among other things, their pint-size Havanese dogs, Pip and Jet.

The Wife, about the inner life of a woman married to a revered novelist, was optioned soon after it was published, but the movie wasn't made for more than a decade. One problem had to do with the tension central to the book—the power imbalance between a talented woman and her childish but esteemed husband. "It was very hard to get a man to play a jerk in a film called *The Wife,*" Wolitzer says. "He has to seem like a jerk but also get second billing." (Jonathan Pryce took the role, and played it well.)

One could argue there's something perfectly 2019 about an old, good book by a woman finally getting its due at a time when—to put it bluntly—old, bad men are finally being called out for their sins. Wolitzer points to her most recent adult novel, *The Female Persuasion,* published just months into the #MeToo movement last year and buzzy for its timely themes, including sexual assault. "These are not new ideas—writing about sexism, male power, misogyny," she says. But *The Wife,* like *The Female Persuasion,* benefits from the reality that, as the novelist puts it, "the conversation has heightened."

When Wolitzer watched *The Wife* for the first time, she felt a fresh intimacy with the character. "I always equate it to the end of *The Truman Show,* when he realizes he's in an enclosed plexiglass dome," she says. Joan Castleman, whom Close plays, had been Wolitzer's and Wolitzer's alone for more than a decade—suspended within the confines of her novel, like Truman in his fabricated town—and now she was meeting the character anew. She has some previous experience with this: a novel she published in 1988 was the basis for the 1992 movie *This Is My Life,* Nora Ephron's directorial debut. She also visited the set of a pilot based on 2013's *The Interestings* (though the show never went to series).

Though Wolitzer has, for now, traded her black gown for a black turtleneck, she will keep one foot in Hollywood: three more of her novels have been snapped up by filmmakers. In September, Nicole Kidman announced she would co-produce *The Female Persuasion* for Amazon Studios. The new middle-grade novel, *To Night Owl From Dogfish*—a summer-camp story with a "gay *Parent Trap* vibe"—has been optioned, with Wolitzer and Sloan writing. And an adaptation of her first novel, *Sleepwalking,* is in the works. Some authors worry their stories will be mangled in the hands of others—indeed, sometimes they are—but not Wolitzer. "Somebody once asked me, 'Aren't you afraid of what they're going to do with your book?'" she says. "I said, 'Well, my book is on the shelf.'"

HALFWAY THROUGH BREAKFAST, alternating between sips of tea and beet-ginger juice, Wolitzer breaks into an approximate rendition of the Rolling Stones' "Beast of Burden." She's explaining what it's like, as a published author, to watch someone in a bookstore pick up one of her novels only to replace it on the shelf. "Ain't I rich enough? Ain't I rough enough?" she recites in a playful growl. "Like, what? What am I not giving you? What do you need?"

It's a disarming admission for someone whose life has always revolved around writing. Wolitzer sold her first novel while still a senior at Brown University, published 13 more books since then and married another author, the nonfiction writer Richard Panek. Writing runs in the family: her mother Hilma Wolitzer became a novelist at 44, during the women's movement in the 1970s. Back then, reviewers called her a "housewife turned novelist."

Wolitzer once assumed that sexism would fade away by the time she was grown. Not so, she says. In her own industry, literary men are still endowed with an authority that women are not. (For more on this, read *The Wife.*) "The idea of male experience

WOLITZER QUICK FACTS

Early advance
She sold her first novel in 1981 for $5,000. "I thought the money would last a really long time, and I'm almost out now," she says, joking.

Word player
A lover of word games, she co-wrote *Nutcrackers,* a 1991 book of crosswords and other puzzles.

Double act
Wolitzer marveled at how co-writing *To Night Owl From Dogfish* over email made the book expand overnight, like "self-rising yeast."

AN RONG XU—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

being representative of general experience, and female experience being women's experience only," she says, "is depressing." Wolitzer has written about the limiting designation of "women's fiction"—describing it in an essay as "that close-quartered lower shelf where books emphasizing relationships and the interior lives of women are often relegated."

That hasn't stopped her from taking on friendship, motherhood and sex in her own books. *The Uncoupling* concerns the unraveling of a whole community's sex lives; in the young-adult novel *Belzhar,* a girl suffers dramatic effects of a heartbreak; and *The Ten-Year Nap* follows a group of educated women who opt out of the workforce to raise children. But while Wolitzer considers herself a feminist writer, her goal is never to impart a feminist message or map her characters' lives onto current events. *The Female Persuasion* was so much in the zeitgeist that the book drew criticism for it, but she had been thinking about the themes it addresses for many years. She would rather create space between the world of her writing and the world she lives in. "I don't want to be part of the 24-hour news cycle," she says.

'It was hard to get a man to play a jerk in a film called The Wife.'

MEG WOLITZER, on the adaptation of her book

Wolitzer has waited patiently for recognition—only in the past few years has she entered the realm of name-brand writers. She didn't make the best-seller list until she'd published her eighth novel, in 2008. At two different points during breakfast, she cites two different guiding philosophies for how she has built her career: "You just schlep along and do your work," she says. "That's my motto." Thirty-five minutes later: "My motto is really, 'If not now, when?'" Even while touring with her latest novel, making Hollywood deals and gracing red carpets, she has kept part of her mind on her next book project. "If you can't write every day," she advises, "try to remain connected, sort of like the way children keep their mittens attached to their coats."

Two days after the Oscars, she's following her own advice, dashing off to a meeting with her editor. "I just picture myself with a little bindle, the little hobo stick, just walking along and working, because that's what I'll do whether something makes it to the Academy Awards or not," she says. "That's the icing on a cake I didn't know was going to get baked." ☐

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*Undetectable means keeping the amount of HIV in the blood at very low levels (less than 50 copies per mL).

IMPORTANT FACTS

This is only a brief summary of important information about JULUCA and does not replace talking to your healthcare provider about your condition and treatment.

About JULUCA

- JULUCA is a prescription medicine that is used without other antiretroviral medicines to treat Human Immunodeficiency Virus-1 (HIV-1) infection in adults to replace their current anti-HIV-1 medicines when their healthcare provider determines that they meet certain requirements.
- HIV-1 is the virus that causes Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS).
- It is not known if JULUCA is safe and effective in children.

How to take JULUCA

- **Take JULUCA 1 time a day exactly as your healthcare provider tells you.**
- **Always take JULUCA with a meal.** A protein drink alone does not replace a meal.

Do not take JULUCA if you

- have ever had an allergic reaction to a medicine that contains dolutegravir or rilpivirine.
- are taking any of the following medicines: dofetilide; carbamazepine; oxcarbazepine; phenobarbital; phenytoin; rifampin; rifapentine; proton pump inhibitors (including esomeprazole, lansoprazole, omeprazole, pantoprazole sodium, rabeprazole); St. John's wort (*Hypericum perforatum*); or more than 1 dose of the steroid medicine dexamethasone or dexamethasone sodium phosphate.

Before taking JULUCA

Tell your healthcare provider if you:

- have ever had a severe skin rash or an allergic reaction to medicines that contain dolutegravir or rilpivirine.
- have or have had liver problems, including hepatitis B or C infection.
- have ever had a mental health problem.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. One of the medicines in JULUCA, called dolutegravir, may harm your unborn baby.
  - **You should not take JULUCA at the time of becoming pregnant or during the first 12 weeks of pregnancy.** Your healthcare provider may change your medicine during this time in your pregnancy.
  - If you can become pregnant, your healthcare provider will perform a pregnancy test before you start treatment with JULUCA, and you should consistently use effective birth control (contraception) during treatment with JULUCA.
  - Tell your healthcare provider right away if you are planning to become pregnant, you become pregnant, or think you may be pregnant during treatment with JULUCA.

Before taking JULUCA (cont'd)

Tell your healthcare provider if you: (cont'd)

- are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed. **Do not breastfeed if you take JULUCA.** You should not breastfeed if you have HIV-1 because of the risk of passing HIV-1 to your baby. It is not known if JULUCA can pass to your baby in your breast milk. Talk with your healthcare provider about the best way to feed your baby.

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take:

- Keep a list that includes all prescription and over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements, and show it to your healthcare provider and pharmacist.
- Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist about medicines that should not be taken with JULUCA.
- Do not start taking a new medicine without telling your healthcare provider.

Possible side effects of JULUCA

JULUCA can cause serious side effects, including:

- **Severe skin rash and allergic reactions.** Call your healthcare provider right away if you develop a rash with JULUCA. **Stop taking JULUCA and get medical help right away if you develop a rash with any of the following signs or symptoms:** fever; generally ill feeling; tiredness; muscle or joint aches; blisters or sores in mouth; blisters or peeling of the skin; redness or swelling of the eyes; swelling of the mouth, face, lips, or tongue; problems breathing.
- **Liver problems.** People with a history of hepatitis B or C virus who have certain liver function test changes may have an increased risk of developing new or worsening changes in certain liver tests during treatment with JULUCA. Liver problems, including liver failure, have also happened in people without history of liver disease or other risk factors. Your healthcare provider may do blood tests to check your liver function. **Call your healthcare provider right away if you develop any of the following signs or symptoms of liver problems:** your skin or the white part of your eyes turns yellow (jaundice); dark or "tea-colored" urine; light-colored stools (bowel movements); nausea or vomiting; loss of appetite; pain, aching, or tenderness on the right side of your stomach area.
- **Depression or mood changes. Tell your healthcare provider right away or get medical help if you have any of the following symptoms:** feeling sad or hopeless; feeling anxious or restless; have thoughts of hurting yourself (suicide) or have tried to hurt yourself.
- **The most common side effects of JULUCA include:** diarrhea and headache.

These are not all the possible side effects of JULUCA. Tell your healthcare provider right away if you have any new symptoms while taking JULUCA. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please see Important Facts about JULUCA continued on the next page.

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†Warren is a real patient with HIV paid by ViiV Healthcare.

IMPORTANT FACTS (cont'd)
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- Go to JULUCA.com or call 1-877-844-8872, where you can also get FDA-approved labeling.

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The View

LAW

TOO GREAT EXPECTATIONS

By Renato Mariotti

After endless hype, special counsel Robert Mueller may be about to submit his report. It is impossible to know what his conclusions will be. But after so much speculation, one outcome seems likely: Mueller will disappoint just about everyone—especially President Trump's critics. And it won't be his fault.

INSIDE

WHY U.S.-CHINA TRADE TALKS CANNOT FIX WHAT'S TRULY BROKEN

A NEW UNDERSTANDING OF HOW TO TEACH STUDENTS WITH LEARNING DISABILITIES

WHAT SUPPORTERS OF THE GREEN NEW DEAL SHOULD LEARN FROM FDR'S MISTAKES

This is due in part to Trump's successful disinformation crusade, which has worked to raise a nearly impossible and definitely illogical bar for Mueller to clear: proving "collusion" and charging a grand criminal conspiracy involving the Trump campaign and the Russian government. But it is also due to Trump's critics, who have responded to Trump's "No collusion!" mantra by shouting back, "Yes, collusion!"

The word *collusion* appears nowhere in the order authorizing Mueller's investigation. There is not even a relevant crime called "collusion." What Mueller *is* tasked with is investigating "any links and/or coordination between the Russian government and individuals associated with" the Trump campaign.

If "links and/or coordination" also don't sound like crimes, that's because they aren't. While Mueller is directed to charge and prosecute crimes he discovers, his is primarily a *counterintelligence* investigation—not a criminal one—the purpose of which is to identify threats to our national security, potentially including the President of the United States and his associates.

Mueller's investigation is already successful. He has laid bare connections between key members of Trump's campaign and Russian operatives, including the recent revelation that former Trump campaign chair Paul Manafort allegedly shared internal polling data with Konstantin Kilimnik, who Mueller has alleged is a former Russian intelligence officer. Along the way, Mueller has charged 34 people and three companies with committing serious crimes.

But all the while, partisans and legal analysts on TV and Twitter have inflated expectations for the investigation. For instance, after former Trump lawyer Michael Cohen pleaded guilty to lying to Congress, one analyst, whom I respect, tweeted that Mueller is "preparing to lay down a royal flush." To some members of the public, that could be interpreted to mean we can be confident Mueller will prove that Trump conspired with Moscow—something we cannot yet know. Even when Mueller obtained significant guilty pleas, people focused on what could be next—instead of the perhaps truer threats to the Trump presidency, like the campaign-finance crimes discussed at length by Cohen in court filings and his Feb. 27 testimony. This feeds into the seemingly insatiable public desire not for what has happened but for what could happen.

WHILE THERE CAN BE VALUE in explaining potential outcomes, speculation about what Mueller could do has so far exceeded even his substantial accomplishments—and some developments suggest Mueller's investigation may not prove a grand conspiracy.

Special counsel Robert Mueller leaves a closed meeting with members of the Senate Judiciary Committee on June 21, 2017

ALEX WONG—GETTY IMAGES

For example, Mueller's sentencing memorandum for Manafort, released on Feb. 23, contained no new revelations, and relatively little material was redacted. Yet Mueller is obligated to make the judge aware of all of Manafort's "history and characteristics" that could be relevant at sentencing; if Mueller was sitting on a mountain of additional evidence against Manafort, he needed to tell the judge. Similarly, Mueller did not charge informal Trump adviser Roger Stone with conspiracy, which indicates he did not have sufficient evidence to do so when Stone was arrested in January.

There are other, broader reasons it appears unlikely that Mueller will charge a grand conspiracy. One is that it is not easy to prove guilt beyond a reasonable doubt, particularly for white collar crimes that require prosecutors to prove a defendant's intent. Another is that federal sentencing law also gives prosecutors incentives to charge narrow crimes that are easier to prove.

Mueller's report in fact could change very little. If Senate Republicans stand firm behind Trump, he will remain in office and the public will be left to speculate about the result of the many ongoing investigations of Trump's campaign, his businesses and his Inaugural committee for years to come, as federal prosecutors investigate. Current Attorney General William Barr may be required by law not to release certain portions of the report or may try to hide the bulk of it from the public, though the latter seems just about politically impossible now.

We do not know what Mueller will do. But especially given these indicators and constraints, any outsize expectations seem misguided. And despite being fueled by Trump's critics, they will make it easier for Trump to declare a win even if there is compelling evidence he committed crimes.

Trump has obstructed justice before our very eyes, from the firing of then FBI Director James Comey to the public pressure he put on now former Attorney General Jeff Sessions to resign after recusing himself, among many other examples. The public's obsession with crimes that may never be charged has taken the focus away from that serious offense (which, for what it's worth, is arguably a form of "collusion").

As the Mueller investigation ends and, ideally, becomes public, it is an opportunity to refocus on what has actually happened: Trump campaign officials have committed crimes, the President has obstructed justice in plain sight, and Trump has been implicated in breaking campaign-finance law. At last, we can address reality instead of what may be fantasy.

Mariotti, a former federal prosecutor, is a practicing lawyer and the host of the On Topic *podcast*

THE RISK REPORT

Deal or no deal, the U.S.-China relationship is beyond repair

By Ian Bremmer

ARE WE NEARING A deal to end the U.S.-China trade war? President Trump seems to think so. "We're getting very, very close," he told a group of governors visiting the White House in February.

Citing "substantial progress" in recent negotiations, Trump postponed a March 1 deadline that would have sharply increased the rate of tariffs on $200 billion in Chinese goods. Trump said he hoped a meeting with China's President Xi Jinping, most likely in late March at Mar-a-Lago, would become a "signing summit."

Trump's lunge for a deal may be driven in part by the fast-advancing U.S. electoral calendar. As Democrats begin lining up to run against him next year, the President may be hoping to avoid the stock-market gyrations and economic pain an escalating trade war might soon begin to inflict.

He could surely use what he sees as a big political win on China at a time when multiple investigations, increasingly aggressive Democratic lawmakers, his failure to build a border wall and embarrassing public testimony from his former personal lawyer Michael Cohen are all clouding his political horizons.

But as with his would-be reset with Russia, Trump can't change the structural game with China with a single agreement. Although Trump entered office predicting he would improve relations with Moscow, lawmakers of both parties continue to accuse Russia of interference in U.S. elections and various other crimes. Sanctions remain in place and may well expand. Neither Trump's praise nor congressional punishment has persuaded Russia to change course.

The same goes for China. Trump will doubtless win some concessions from Xi, perhaps expanded access for U.S. companies to the Chinese marketplace, agreements on currency management, more Chinese purchases of American soybeans and promises in principle to address other U.S. demands.

What Trump cannot do is persuade Xi to overhaul China's broader economic model. The Chinese state will continue to subsidize state-owned companies and privately owned national champions, tilting the global playing field in its favor. It will push forward, by any means necessary, on expanding technological innovation to compete with U.S. and European firms in the most important economic sectors of the 21st century—AI, fintech and consumer electronics, for example. On these subjects, whatever Xi promises Trump or Chinese officials say publicly, they will not compromise.

As with his would-be reset with Russia, Trump can't change the structural game with China with a single agreement

There are also limits to what Trump can offer to get that deal with Xi. If he signs off on an agreement that removes pressure on Chinese telecom giants Huawei and ZTE, each suspected of undermining U.S. national security, he'll get pushback from Congress. If he tries to use Meng Wanzhou—the Huawei executive arrested in Canada for allegedly violating U.S. sanctions on Iran—as a bargaining chip, he'll face criticism that he's meddling in a law-enforcement matter and exceeding his authority.

Even if Trump and Xi cheer markets in March with a broad Mar-a-Lago agreement over coffee and chocolate cake, the damage to relations between the superpower and the rising challenger has already been done. Trust between them now stands at its lowest point in 30 years, and each government will continue a long-term project of making its side less vulnerable to pressure from the other.

In short, the U.S.-China relationship is fundamentally broken, and no politically inspired, vaguely worded compromise will change that. ◻

SHORT READS

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

Rethinking special ed

For decades, scientists and educators have believed that the brain is fixed by adolescence. But now, write Jo Boaler and Tanya LaMar of Stanford University, a different belief is taking hold: **"Even students diagnosed with learning disabilities may develop the brain pathways they need, through careful teaching."**

Lessons from the old New Deal

Andrea Flynn and Susan R. Holmberg, two of the co-authors of *The Hidden Rules of Race,* have **a warning for supporters of the Green New Deal** being promoted by politicians today, based on the proposal's namesake from the first half of the 20th century: "If the New Deal of our era is not broad and inclusive, it will only reinforce and replicate racial inequality."

When college athletes go broke

After Duke star and top NBA prospect Zion Williamson's sneaker exploded in a game, injuring his knee, TIME's Sean Gregory tallied up **all the entities that, unlike the players, made money off the contest:** "ESPN. Duke … Whoever drove Barack Obama" to the game. "What did Williamson get out of it? A busted Nike shoe and potential for career jeopardy."

NO WAY FORWARD

A standoff at Venezuela's border reflects a crisis in stasis

By Karl Vick

Opposition demonstrators on a bridge that connects Colombia and Venezuela, near the town of Ureña, on Feb. 23

PHOTOGRAPHS BY TIME

Agua
potable
tratada
Klein

A SENSE OF IMPENDING CLIMAX followed Juan Guaidó from Venezuela's capital city to its western border on Feb. 21–22. The young opposition leader is one of two people who claim to be President of the failing petrostate. And at regular intervals on the 500-mile road trip, his caravan pushed through checkpoints manned by the army that answers to the other—Nicolás Maduro, who still clings stubbornly to the presidency after ostensibly winning re-election in a ballot widely seen as stolen.

At each roadblock, the contest for control of Venezuela played out in miniature. Guaidó may be recognized as the legitimate ruler by more than 50 nations, including the U.S. But control of the government depends on those in uniform who hold guns and claim allegiance to Maduro. The challenger's journey, in defiance of a travel ban imposed by his rival, was a calculated gamble to draw the armed forces into the opposition's orbit. The plan at the border called for dismantling barricades, then driving waiting truckloads of U.S. food and medical aid into the impoverished land. The idea had an elegant logic. By demonstrating control of both the nation's armed forces and its borders, Guaidó could effectively exhibit the power he had nominally claimed a month earlier, while also feeding at least a few hungry mouths.

It didn't happen. The confrontation at the Colombian border on Feb. 23 merely sparked a round of street clashes between security forces and civilians. The aid stayed put, the barricades stayed up, and despite Guaidó's boast of the "participation" of the armed forces, all but 320 defectors remained loyal to Maduro. If there had been a turning point, it was the grinding sort that becomes apparent only much later.

As the crisis remains stubbornly unresolved, it has grown into a global emergency. The forces aligned against Maduro—including, most prominently, a tough-talking U.S. President Donald Trump—are very nearly as compelling as the country's extraordinary decline. It has the world's largest proven oil reserves, yet almost 90% of its people now live below the poverty line. Famed as the birthplace of Latin American liberation, Venezuela in the past three years has lost more than 3 million people, a 10th of its population, to self-exile in nearby countries.

Demonstrators and Venezuelan police on the Simón Bolívar International Bridge in Cúcuta on Feb. 23

"We're with you 100%," U.S. Vice President Mike Pence told Guaidó on Feb. 25, when they met in Colombia with regional leaders.

Despite Trump's belligerent tone on Venezuela—in striking contrast with his isolationist approach to foreign policy elsewhere—Pence also made clear that no U.S. military action was imminent. Asked whether he had told Guaidó that "all options" remain on the table, "I assured him that they were," Pence said after the meeting. "But we hope for better. We hope for a peaceful transition."

Remarkably, Guaidó has emphatically refused to rule out American military intervention. It's a striking development in a region where Uncle Sam has played the heavy for so long. One historian counted 41 cases of the U.S.'s intervening to change a government in Latin America

over the course of about a century—and that's just the successful ones. The math works out at one every 28 months.

THIS TIME, HOWEVER, Washington is confronting a recalcitrant Latin American government not on its own but with an array of concerned neighbors. The 14 nations that make up the Lima Group, named for the Peruvian capital where they gathered in August 2017 to address the crisis, are committed to restoring democracy in Venezuela, ideally by peaceful means, like enforcing economic sanctions on Maduro cronies and generals to coerce them to abandon his regime.

These countries are strongly opposed to a military solution. Neither Brazil nor Colombia, which border Venezuela, are willing to serve as a base for an assault, which experts and officials warn would carry profound risks. Maduro may be widely unpopular among the starving masses, but he commands the loyalty not just of a corrupt establishment but also of armed groups who are paid by a government not shy about buying support. Geoff Ramsey of the Washington Office on Latin America said an invading force could also expect to face a resistance of 500,000 to 2 million members of an armed militia created by the late President Hugo Chávez in 2008. "Even if 10% head to the hills, you've got an insurgency larger than FARC ever were at their peak," says Ramsey, referring to the insurgent force in Colombia's 50-year civil war. A U.S.-led invasion, he says, "would be a disaster, a complete logistical nightmare."

But Latin American leaders are also wary of entering into any "dialogue" with Maduro, who besides presiding over the nation's collapse also fixed elections, banned political rivals and sidelined parliament. His weakness may be evident in his response to Guaidó's gambits—when British billionaire Richard Branson staged a concert at Guaidó's destination on the Colombian border, Maduro mounted one on the Venezuela side—but he still has the support of his allies Russia and China and has offered no hint of a concession.

So the impasse continues. And while the opposition has enjoyed momentum, it's not clear that time is on its side. The U.S. sanctions on oil production that are meant to isolate Maduro's supporters may also make life even more desperate for ordinary people when they bite later this year, in a country where lawlessness has been a problem for decades. If ongoing protests in the Venezuelan capital, Caracas, start to resemble the clashes seen on the border, they could be met with a violent crackdown by armed *colectivos,* Ramsey says. "I am more worried by the government's lack of control over armed groups than by the potential for protests to turn violent."

The violence on Feb. 23 offered a preview of what might yet come. In Cúcuta, on the Colombian side, Venezuelan youths hurled rocks toward troops who fired tear gas. But in the streets beyond the troops, men in face masks fired pistols in the air and assaulted dissidents. More than 285 people were reported wounded over the weekend. Four people were killed on the border with Brazil.

The biggest challenge may be for control not of the army but of angry young men. Neyerson Cisneros, a 29-year-old from Caracas, squatted on a pile of aid on one of the flatbeds that had become stranded on the Simón Bolívar International Bridge at Cúcuta. "Military intervention?" he said. "I fully agree. I mean, there's already intervention from China, Russia and Cuba in Venezuela." Asked about the chaos that foreign forces might bring, he shrugged. "The thing is, there's already chaos in Venezuela. So what would it matter?"—*With reporting by* WES TOMASELLI/CÚCUTA, COLOMBIA ◻

World

Private Jones Comes Home

How the Korean War finally ended for one soldier and his aging family

By W.J. Hennigan/Rocky Mount, N.C.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY BENJAMIN RASMUSSEN FOR TIME

A framed portrait of Private First Class W. Hoover Jones, photographed in North Carolina in February

What happened to Hoover Jones? The question loomed like a shadow

over Ida Dickens' life for nearly seven decades. When she last saw her younger brother, he was waving from the back of a taxicab, a lanky 18-year-old farm boy headed to Korea, a place he knew nothing about.

Hoover had enlisted as an infantryman in one of America's last segregated units, even though he had never handled a weapon, let alone fired a shot in anger. In his mind, joining the military was a chance for a better life, an escape from the bitter racism of central North Carolina, Ida says. But he soon found himself in a poorly trained unit struggling with equipment that would fall to pieces in numbing subzero temperatures. In a Nov. 17, 1950, letter that Hoover wrote his mother from inside his foxhole, he described "very cold days" and the hope that he would be on his way home by Christmas.

Nine days later, Hoover vanished from a frozen battlefield. The U.S. Army believed he had been killed in a surprise attack, but his commanders couldn't say for certain. His body was never found. No one saw him die.

Ida, now 92 years old, tried to move on with her life. She married, and subsequently buried, two husbands. She became a mother, then a grandmother and then a great-grandmother. She watched her small tobacco town sluggishly move away from the Jim Crow laws that enforced racial segregation.

But one part of her, the part holding onto Hoover, remained stuck, unresolved. For all these years, in the back of her mind, Ida thought that maybe, just maybe, Hoover was still alive. Perhaps he was being held captive in a prison camp or living with amnesia somewhere in Asia.

And then one windy, gray morning last September, when Ida was hurriedly packing her bags to evacuate ahead of Hurricane Florence's landfall, the phone rang. It was the Army. After 68 years, they finally found him. Ida's knees buckled, and her breath froze. "I almost fell over," she told TIME.

How Hoover Jones came home is a story of military detective work and cutting-edge science. It involves teams of geneticists, forensic anthropologists and archival researchers. It is also a story about the persistence of history.

The war Hoover went off to fight never ended. A cease-fire signed in July 1953 left North and South Korea facing off across the heavily armed 38th parallel. Tens of thousands of Korean families remain divided, and the U.S. stations 28,500 troops in South Korea in case the Cold War once again turns hot.

Over the decades, North Korea has used the remains of some of the 5,300 Americans who are still missing from the war as bargaining chips in its confrontations with the West. After North Korean leader Kim Jong Un and President Donald Trump met last June in Singapore, Kim handed over 55 boxes of unidentified remains from the Korean War while conceding little on his growing nuclear-weapons arsenal, which is at the center of the dispute.

As the two leaders prepared for a second summit beginning Feb. 27 in Hanoi, Trump said the return of those remains could represent a step toward ending the war. "A lot was done in the first summit," Trump

Two of Private Hoover Jones' sisters, Ida Dickens, 92, and Elizabeth Jones Ohree, 95, in Rocky Mount, N.C., in February

said in the White House Rose Garden on Feb. 15. Once in Vietnam, he added, "we hope we're going to be very much equally as successful." Kim has said he wants Trump to sign a declaration ending the war, and a U.S. envoy has been negotiating terms with his North Korean counterpart. Few experts believe Kim will give up his nuclear weapons, which the U.S. has said is a precondition for a deal.

But unseen behind the high-profile theatrics, armies of American experts are making the most of hope. U.S. Defense Department officials have met face to face with North Korean army officials about conducting joint recovery missions inside North Korea. Pentagon scientists in Hawaii have positively identified three soldiers through X-ray matches, historical data and DNA testing.

One brittle bone among 710 others made the difference for Ida and her two surviving sisters, Elizabeth, 95, and Thelma, 88. The return of troop remains often gets lost in the larger debate over whether Trump will ever successfully compel North Korea to curtail its growing missile and nuclear arsenal. Yet the discovery of Hoover's, along with those of two other soldiers, has forever changed the lives of their families.

Several years ago, Hoover's family decided they needed a place to mourn him. Without a funeral or ceremony, they emplaced a tombstone behind Swift Creek Baptist Church in Whitakers, N.C., marked IN MEMORY OF W HOOVER JONES. The grave below has always been empty. In August, the Jones family plans to bury Hoover with full military honors at Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia. It will be the first time in well over a half-century that Ida will know where she can find her brother.

For thousands of other elderly relatives of still missing Korean War veterans, however, hope and time are running out.

IT SHOULD'VE BEEN just a 20-minute flight for the hulking C-17 cargo jet, but a direct route from Osan Air Base in South Korea to North Korea would cross the demilitarized zone, a heavily fortified cease-fire line that separates the two countries. Any plane breaching the DMZ could be perceived as part of a surprise attack and draw antiaircraft fire. So despite Pyongyang's assurances the flight would be allowed into northern airspace without incident, the U.S. Air Force was happy to take the long way around, high above the Sea of Japan.

When the C-17 crossed the North Korean coastline, the pilot lowered the ramp in the rear of the plane just enough that Jennie Jin could see flashes of the mountainous countryside whistling by. A burst of cool air swept into the jet's cavernous belly, catching her short black hair and tossing it into the air. Already apprehensive about the mission, Jin and her colleagues, three fellow scientists, found themselves gripped by a kinetic sense of being propelled at hundreds of miles an hour into the unknown.

It was July 27, and they were preparing to land at Kalma Airport to retrieve 55 boxes of soldiers' remains. The four of them represented a little-known Defense Department unit called the Defense POW/MIA Accounting Agency (DPAA), whose job is to recover missing military personnel from past war zones. It's a job that routinely takes each of them to far reaches of the globe, but not North Korea.

For them, gazing upon the country's mountain ridges was to see the past as much as the present. For Jin, the moment was doubly powerful. Her

grandparents had escaped North Korea at the height of the Korean War by jumping aboard U.S. Navy warships when the 1st Marine Division withdrew from the bloody fighting around Chosin Reservoir. She was born in South Korea and became an American citizen in 2014. Now here she was speeding toward the country her family had fled, jittery with excitement, tears welling in her eyes. The emotions were only amplified by the fact that she was five months pregnant. "The whole thing was surreal," she said. "I was proud to be representing my country. I was also proud for my unborn daughter to be on this journey with me."

Jin hadn't anticipated being on this trip. When Trump and Kim met in Singapore, Jin and her husband watched the television coverage from 7,000 miles away at their home in Honolulu. It was only when Kim agreed to transfer Korean War remains that Jin knew her expertise as the leader of the Korean War Project would be needed. One month later, as the jet engines howled and the plane descended into Wonsan, Jin thought about her family and her time as a schoolgirl in Seoul reciting anti-communist propaganda. She thought about the military families back in the U.S. hoping for news about their long-lost soldiers. She hoped she could help.

Jin and the rest of the American contingent stepped into the summer sun. They were met by two scientists and some 20 North Korean soldiers in crisp olive green uniforms. The situation was tense, but it eased when Jin spoke to the soldiers in Korean. "I don't think they expected that," she said. Before long, they were asking her about life as a Korean in America and whether she feared volcanoes in Hawaii.

The welcoming party ushered the Americans into the newly constructed airport, where spotless white walls and tan-speckled flooring gleamed under overhead fluorescent lights. The Pentagon team was led to the baggage claim area where they were told the U.S. soldier remains were temporarily stored. There Jin saw five rows of 11 wooden boxes neatly lined up on the floor. Each box, about the size of an old storage trunk, had a number taped to the top: 1 through 55. Jin and the team observed a brief moment of silence before dropping to their knees to remove the lids from the boxes and inspect the remains.

It was a crucial moment. North Korea had a mixed record when it came to handing over remains. From 1990 to 1994, Pyongyang returned 208 sets to the U.S., but many appeared hastily thrown together with little identifying information. The situation improved in 1996 during a diplomatic thaw when Pyongyang allowed U.S. officials to conduct recovery operations on a few battlefields. That marked the first time U.S. troops had crossed the 38th parallel since the end of fighting in 1953. But that agreement ended in 2005 when tensions between the two countries worsened.

As Jin and the other scientists opened the boxes, they found piles of bone shards, buttons, belt buckles and other battlefield material. One box contained a weather-beaten dog tag and other bone fragments. Signs of care quickly emerged. The contents of each box were rolled in bubble wrap, and the Koreans had recorded where everything had been unearthed. That would prove a key clue to whose bones were inside the boxes: the DPAA maintains detailed databases of the missing soldiers, the dates they disappeared and their last known locations.

The contents of Box No. 16, for instance, came from Ryongyeon-ri, a mountain village in western North Korea. It was the site of some of the harshest winter conditions that American forces ever fought in. It was also where the only racially segregated infantry regiment of the 8th Army, consisting of black soldiers led by white and black officers, had faced down a ferocious attack by Chinese forces that had intervened in a lightning offensive on North Korea's behalf.

The box contained a collection of cream-colored bones, including an intact femur. It immediately caught the eye of one of the scientists, Veronica Keyes. The bone was long, slender and flat. To a trained forensic anthropologist like Keyes, who has spent her career examining bones, it was more than enough information to make an educated guess: It belonged to a tall, thin black man.

Keyes placed the femur back into the box and continued systematically examining each of the other boxes. But on the inside, she felt a rush of adrenaline. Box No. 16 contained a colossal clue.

AFTER JUST THREE HOURS on the ground in Wonsan, Keyes, Jin and the rest of the Americans prepared to head back to South Korea. They strapped the 55 boxes of remains to the floor of the C-17's cargo hold and buckled into their seats for a 40-minute flight. The boxes would be shrouded in blue-and-white U.N.

America's MIAs in North Korea

› *A blanket shields bone fragments at the Defense POW/MIA Accounting Agency lab, in Hawaii, where remains are cleaned in December*

STERIS

flags before they landed, a protocol acknowledging that the Korean War had started in June 1950 as a U.N. police action after the North invaded the South.

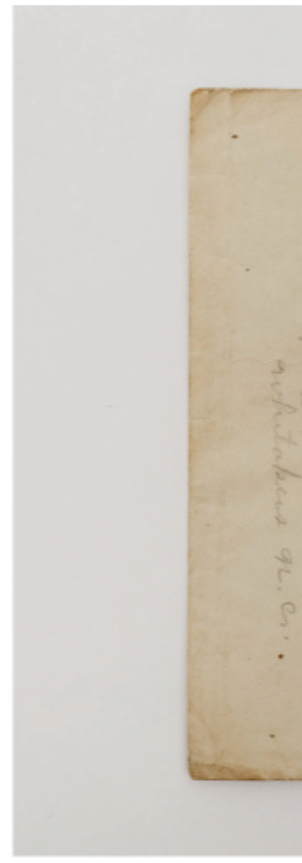
After the plane landed, the scientists participated in a solemn ceremony at Osan Air Base, and then Keyes raced to her hotel room and flipped open her computer. Keyes isn't your typical Pentagon employee. She has a tongue ring and tattoos and speaks Chinese, German and a bit of Mongolian. Before she joined, she was happy combing through archaeological sites, like the Xiongnu tombs in Mongolia or Tell es-Sweyhat along the Euphrates River in Syria.

But Keyes developed a passion for solving military mysteries. Among her most powerful tools: a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet that itemizes missing soldiers by age, height, weight and other distinguishing factors, such as dental work or broken bones. As she sat in her hotel room enveloped in the digital glow of her laptop screen she began methodically narrowing the identification criteria to include only black men, over 6 ft. tall, weighing less than 200 lb., who had gone missing near the village of Ryongyeon-ri. When she was done, just three soldiers were left. She scribbled the names on the hotel notepad. One appeared to be the best match: Army Private William Hoover Jones.

"It looked promising," recalls Keyes' boss, John Byrd, lab director for the DPAA, whom Keyes had rushed to inform of her breakthrough. "But a good hunch is never enough. We let science answer who these guys are." All 55 boxes were flown to the agency's headquarters at Joint Base Pearl Harbor–Hickam, located near Honolulu, for analysis and identification. The 136,497-sq.-ft. facility is the largest forensic anthropology laboratory in the world. One step inside envelops you in a clinical shrine to death.

There, 60 medical tables are lined up in precise rows, holding pieces of blackened skeletons lying faceup. Each table represents what's left of a soldier recovered from a shallow grave or temporary cemetery on a long-forgotten North Korean battlefield. Some present a collection of vertebrae, flanked by thin arm bones, topped with toothless skulls. Others have only a rib, leg and foot bones, all in various states of decay. The temperature is controlled 24/7, and the airflow is filtered. Floor-to-ceiling windows set an incongruously verdant backdrop of swaying palm trees and tropical hills stretching into the distance.

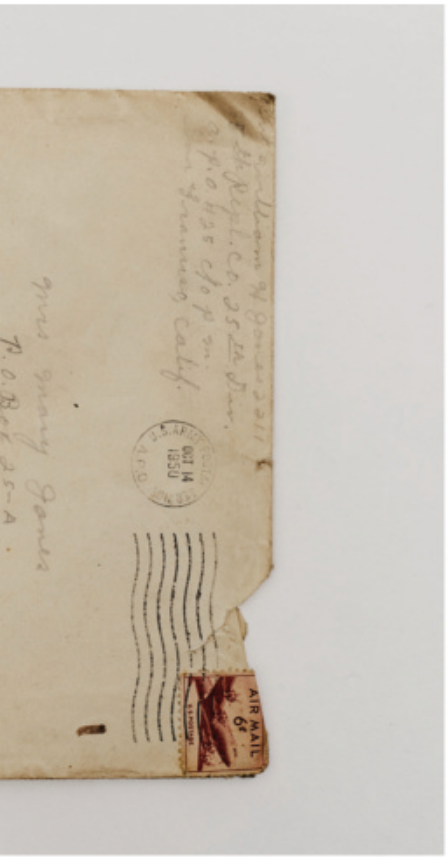
The remains provide a glimpse into the horror of the Korean War. It was a grinding conflict, underappreciated in the U.S. and overshadowed by World War II and the Vietnam War. Death in Korea was pervasive. More than 33,000 Americans were killed in action from 1950 to 1953. Nearly 2 million North Koreans, or 20% of the total population, lost their lives or were wounded. South Korea took 1 million casualties. Byrd notes a disembodied skull with a bullet hole punched through its left side. "These men went through pure hell," he said, leaning closer to examine it. "This guy looks like he had a lot of dental work. He should be an easy ID." Dental records are the gold standard for identification. Byrd calls them the "holy grail," and his team has a computerized index of records for comparison. Chest X-rays also help. Collarbones are nearly as distinctive as a thumbprint, and during the war the military checked the men's chests for signs of tuberculosis, so if Byrd's team finds a collarbone, they're in luck.



Contents of some of the 55 boxes returned by North Korea in 2018; and a letter from Hoover to his mother Mary, postmarked Oct. 14, 1950

The lab uses DNA in about three-quarters of its cases. They cut postage-stamp-size samples in bones and Tic Tac–size wedges from teeth and send them to Timothy McMahon, director of DNA operations for the Armed Forces Medical Examiner System in Dover, Del., for testing. If his team can extract DNA, he compares it with reference samples provided by living family members who have had their cheeks swabbed over the past few decades. In 1995, the DNA bank had family references for just 71 of the 8,100 missing service members in the Korean War. The database now has references for 7,437 service members, representing 92% of the missing.

After the 55 new boxes were sorted in Hawaii, the team indexed 710 bones and fragments. Byrd estimated they likely represented about 120 service members. The forensic team cataloged every bone and box into the database, making the DNA cuts and sending them to Dover. Two boxes in particular took priority: Box No. 14 with the bubble-wrapped dog tag, and Box No. 16 with the large femur. Both yielded DNA hits. The first was Charles H. McDaniel, a 32-year-old Army master sergeant from Vernon, Ind. The second was William Hoover Jones, a 19-year-old Army private first class from Nash County, North Carolina.



SHAFTS OF LIGHT streamed through the trees into Elizabeth Jones Ohree's home, where more than a dozen family members had assembled to hear about the fate of a man lost to war. Most of them, born over the seven decades since his disappearance, had never met him and only knew the stories.

Hoover was tall, 6 ft. 4 in., thin and handsome. He always wore a tie, even with his hand-me-down shirts and overalls. And you could never find him without a comb in his pocket. He was self-conscious about a slight scar on his nose—an old baseball injury—but that didn't diminish the attention paid him by girls at Swift Creek High School. The seventh of eight children, he was the "knee baby," as the family called him—the one on the knee, next to the baby—and his mother's favorite. His surviving siblings—Elizabeth, Ida and Thelma—are all in agreement on that. It was the only explanation as to why Hoover was able to get out of work on the farm in Nash County.

After school, his brothers and sisters toiled harvesting tobacco, picking cotton and shaking out peanuts. Hoover, meanwhile, would be riding Bonnie, his father's brown horse, into town for one reason or another. "He got away with a lot of things," Elizabeth said. "He had a wonderful sense of humor. He could make a dog laugh."

Elizabeth spent her life trying to make sense of the scraps of information the military provided to her mother about Hoover. The way she saw it, as his big sister, she had a responsibility to get to the bottom of what happened to him. She had been hopeful for his future in 1950 when he appeared wearing his newly pressed Army uniform at Spaulding Middle School, where she taught sixth grade. They embraced and said goodbye. Yet sadness swept over her when Hoover turned to leave. She would never see him again.

The remains provide a glimpse into the unrelenting horror that defined the Korean War

The memories came back in waves, pushed ahead before the soldiers who walked up Elizabeth's driveway Oct. 18 under the towering oak trees, past the manicured lawn, to her long red brick house. Army Captain Hugo Romero and Sergeant Major Shaun Herron had made the 90-minute drive northeast from Fort Bragg. Jim Bell, a retired Army lieut. colonel, flew in from Fort Knox, Ky., and took the lead in presenting the newfound information to the family assembled in Elizabeth's living room.

Casualty assistance officers (CAOs) are responsible for notifying family members when a service member has died, answering questions about the member's death. It's a tough job, especially when the family has waited as long as Hoover's, so the Army compiled a 66-page booklet covering his whole story, including how they had definitively identified him.

Keyes' guess had been correct back in Korea. Hoover was almost entirely confined to Box No. 16. They found a lower jaw; left collarbone; left and right legs; most of his right and left arms; pelvic bone; five lower vertebrae; six teeth; and 6 g of bone particles and dust. DNA from the right femur matched that on swabs that Hoover's sister Thelma and now deceased brother Horace had taken years earlier, leaving a 1-in-601 quintillion chance it was someone else. The teeth matched dental records. The "shapes and densities" across the left collarbone matched Hoover's chest X-ray from June 5, 1950, according to a medical-examiner report reviewed by TIME.

And then there was the history. Pentagon researchers placed Hoover's unit, Easy Company, 2nd Battalion, 24th Infantry, 25th Infantry Division, 8th U.S. Army in the area of Ryongyeon-ri for the Battle of Chongchon River in November 1950. General Douglas MacArthur was attempting to end the war by pushing north on the last North Korean stronghold near the Yalu River, which forms Korea's border with China. MacArthur had promised the troops would be "home by Christmas." In letters home, Hoover attempted to put on a brave face for his family as the holiday season neared. "I am really seeing some of the world now," he wrote on Nov. 2, 1950. "The people in Korea raise a lot of rice and work ox. And they dress like people at home a hundred years ago."

The first sign of trouble came when U.S. intelligence analysts estimated that 40,000 to 70,000 Chinese soldiers had crossed the Yalu, apparently to back North Korea. MacArthur thought China was bluffing. But Chinese Chairman Mao Zedong had secretly ordered 300,000 troops to enter the war on the North Korean side. Battle-hardened from their civil war just one year earlier, the Chinese were brilliant guerrillas. They fought at night and kept the Americans off-balance, communicating maneuver orders by bugles over loudspeakers and firing off flares to make up for their lack of radios.

The Chinese used psychological warfare, capturing American soldiers on patrol and broadcasting their cries for help over the speakers at night. Even today, veterans of battles at Kunu-ri and Chongchon River remain haunted. "It was a nightmare," said Charles Rangel, the Democratic former Congressman from New York, who was wounded in the battle as a private first class. "Flares fell out of the sky, the bugles, the loudspeakers … We were all terrified."

Food was in short supply, and temperatures plummeted to −20°F. The cold brought tears, which froze on the men's faces. Soldiers, exhausted from the noise for nights on end, would fall asleep in their sleeping bags and freeze to death. The segregated units were particularly poorly supplied with cold-weather gear, especially insulated footwear, according to an Army history of the 24th Infantry Regiment. Some soldiers would attempt to take off their boots, and their toes would come off with them.

It had to be a hellscape for Hoover, who had never encountered cold weather close to that, his sisters say. The Chinese used the cover of night on Nov. 25, 1950, to launch a surprise attack on the U.S. Army's defensive lines. The mountainous terrain and cold weather made movement difficult and radio communications between American infantry units almost impossible, according to Army command reports now in the National Archives. The Chinese, seemingly unaffected by the communications blackout, attacked again the next night, ultimately breaking through the U.S. lines and splitting the regiment in two. "We were surrounded," recalls Rangel, who was injured when mortar shrapnel tore through his back. "There was a lot of screaming. Chinese screaming, our troops screaming. It was total confusion. As I've said before, I never had a bad day since November 1950."

A Chinese surprise attack, launched on Nov. 25, 1950, encircled Hoover's unit two days later

Chinese forces encircled Hoover's unit on Nov. 26, according to Army documents filed at the time. By nightfall, the GIs were cut off from surrounding American units. Some of Easy Company's wounded were evacuated, but the dead had to be left behind, frozen where they fought on the battlefield. Jones was reported missing in action, exactly one month after his 19th birthday. The Army notified his mother Mary B. Jones by telegram on Jan. 7, 1951. Though she lived to be 90, she never recovered from his disappearance, spending late afternoons motionless on her front porch, staring at the tobacco fields rustling in the wind.

The CAOs walked the family through the ill-fated battle and admitted to Elizabeth, Ida and Thelma that they couldn't say for sure how Hoover died. He suffered two fractures to his right leg, which occurred while he was still alive. Whatever hit him, possibly a blunt instrument, like a rifle butt, was heavy and likely came from behind. The officers provided the family with a Purple Heart and Army Good Conduct Medal.

The sisters decided to save the medals after Hoover is interred at Arlington in August. His remains will be sent from Hawaii in a dark walnut casket, which will be accompanied at all times by a military escort. He will be buried with his dress blue uniform. A chevron representing his rank as private first class will be stitched to his sleeve. A blue cord will be affixed to the right shoulder. His six medals and two citations will be pinned to his chest, along with the Combat Infantryman Badge, a three-inch silver pin featuring a rifle, wrapped by a wreath, against a blue background.

Before Hoover is lowered into the ground, seven soldiers will fire three volleys from their M-14 rifles for a 21-gun salute. A bugler will play taps. The six soldiers who carried Hoover to his grave site will remove the flag covering his casket and make 13 triangular folds. A presenting officer will kneel before Hoover's eldest sister Elizabeth and hand the folded flag to her. Two others will be provided to Thelma and Ida. "This flag is presented on behalf of a grateful nation and the United States Army in appreciation for your loved one's honorable and faithful service," they will be told. The ceremony will conclude. Their brother will finally be laid to rest. And for Hoover Jones and his family, at least, the Korean War will at last be over. □

› Hoover's headstone in North Carolina, photographed in February; the grave below remains empty

IN MEMORY OF
W HOOVER
JONES
PFC
US ARMY
KOREA
OCT 26 1931
NOV 26 1950
PH MIA
WE LOVE YOU
KOREA
U
S
1950 - 1955

THE QUEEN OF COMEDY

Julia Louis-Dreyfus

SHE'LL MAKE YOU LAUGH UNTIL YOU CRY...

...TV'S FUNNIEST WOMAN ALREADY HAS HER NEXT PUNCH LINE

BY MOLLY BALL

PLUS+

THE FIVE FUNNIEST...

NEW VOICES

15 comedians who are changing what's funny right now

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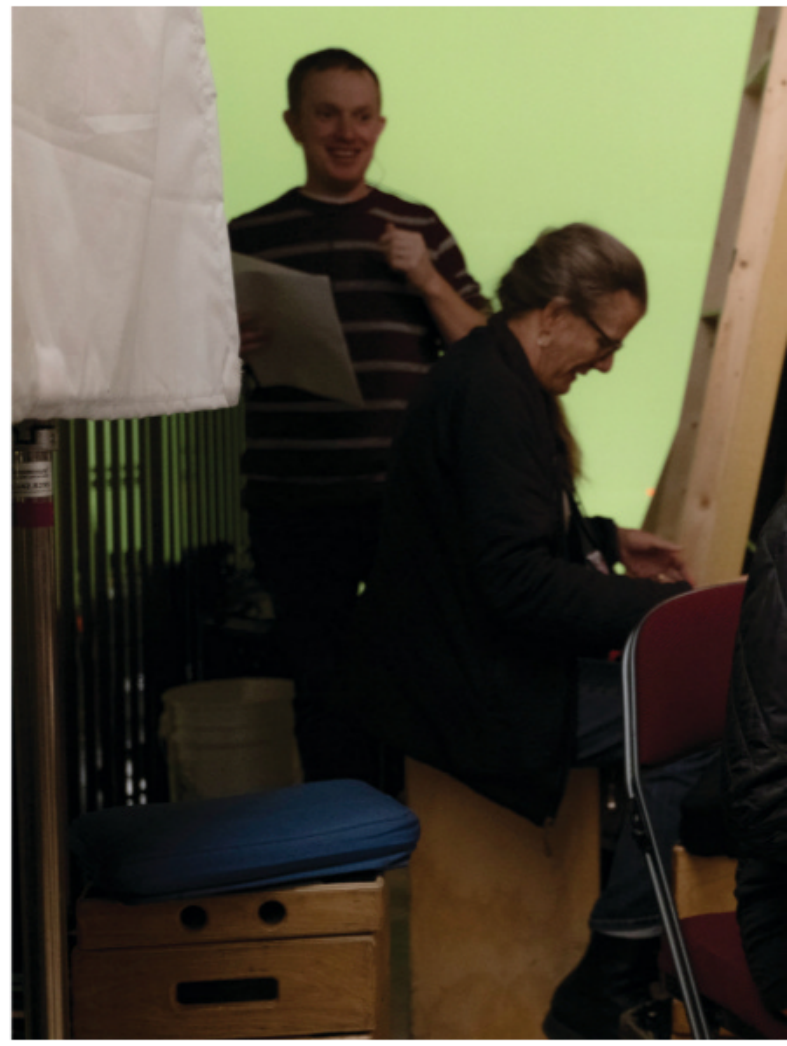
Photograph by Ramona Rosales for TIME

ASK JULIA LOUIS-DREYFUS HOW MUCH OF HER is in Selina Meyer, the politician she plays on HBO's *Veep,* and she grins. "Tons!" she says. Really? Selina is profane, narcissistic, needy and disagreeable, as cruel to her own daughter as she is to her beleaguered staff. Louis-Dreyfus, on the other hand—the Emmy-winningest performer in TV history—has always had an "America's sweetheart" quality. But in the noxious politician, Louis-Dreyfus finds a pressure valve for the anger and frustration many women bottle up in public. "One has to power through it," she adds. "And frankly, I've made a career of playing unlikable people. I don't cotton to likability."

It's a cloudless January morning in the Austrian Alps, bright sun glinting off fresh snow, and Louis-Dreyfus is digging into a breakfast of oatmeal with almond milk and chia seeds in the restaurant of her hotel. Having just finished shooting *Veep*'s seventh and final season, which debuts March 31, she's come here to produce and star in *Downhill,* a feature film with Will Ferrell. "There are plenty of things in trying to stay alive in show business that are very similar to trying to stay alive politically," Louis-Dreyfus tells me. "And being a woman, a middle-aged woman, trying to stay relevant and viable—I get it. Not being taken seriously. It's infuriating."

'THERE ARE PLENTY OF THINGS IN TRYING TO STAY ALIVE IN SHOW BUSINESS THAT ARE VERY SIMILAR TO TRYING TO STAY ALIVE POLITICALLY.'

Louis-Dreyfus has always demanded to be taken seriously. For three decades, she has been portraying funny, self-centered women who are compelling despite often being ill-behaved. Selina, her capstone creation, pushes the envelope furthest: the accidental President's megalomania, and her flamboyant vulgarity, have helped *Veep* break awards records. ("*I* was the game changer!" Selina yells in a scene from the upcoming season. "*I* took a dump on the glass ceiling!") The show has made Louis-Dreyfus, 58, arguably the most decorated television comedy actress in history. But over the course of her career, Louis-Dreyfus hasn't only made a lot of people laugh. She has also left an indelible cultural mark, expanding the possibilities for women in comedy—and maybe in politics and public life as well.



Behind the scenes on the set of Veep

It hasn't come without a fight. On *Seinfeld,* Louis-Dreyfus spent years battling the all-male writers' room to get Elaine more substantive story lines. After it ended, she struggled to break the dreaded *Seinfeld* curse and bust out of sitcom purgatory. More recently, she has spent four years working to bring *Downhill* from passion project to production. Like Selina, Louis-Dreyfus has managed to navigate the catch-22 of a business in which likability is power—but power has a way of making women "unlikable." Selina is at once a ruthless satire of this kind of double standard and a testament to Louis-Dreyfus' singular ability to defy it. The audience can't get enough of Selina, in all her awful glory.

"People like her, you know?" Louis-Dreyfus

LOUIS-DREYFUS: COLLEEN HAYES—HBO; THE 5 FUNNIEST TV SHOWS EVER: THE SIMPSONS, MONTY PYTHON'S FLYING CIRCUS: EVERETT; THE MARY TYLER MOORE SHOW, CHEERS: PHOTOFEST

says, sipping coffee. "Despite the fact that she's a horrible human being! People like her, and I think they root for her."

Louis-Dreyfus speaks with the wonder of someone who knows from experience that hardly anyone ever roots for that kind of woman in real life. You can't be evil—or rude or annoying or bitchy or ambitious—and still be beloved. In real life, those traits make you polarizing, problematic. From Lena Dunham to Hillary Clinton, we still struggle to make sense of difficult women—women who want power and respect despite being imperfect. As the comedian Michelle Wolf put it in a recent special, "If you're in charge of something and think you're a nice lady, no one else does." (As the headliner of last year's White House Correspondents' Dinner, Wolf managed to be so caustic that she got the tradition canceled; rather than a comedian, this year's dinner will feature a white male historian who can be trusted not to offend.) It's telling that there's no masculine synonym for *prima donna* or *diva*—the talented woman who asks for too much.

Yet difficult women are having a bit of a moment, from Hollywood to the halls of power in Washington. Formerly blackballed actresses have taken down tormentors like Harvey Weinstein and Les Moonves who squelched their careers, kept them in their place and decided

ILLUSTRATIONS BY MATT HERRING FOR TIME

THE 5 FUNNIEST TV SHOWS EVER

By Michael Schur

***CHEERS* (1982–93)** The best comedy, and maybe just flat-out the best TV show, of all time. The characters were three-dimensional, the setting perfect, the actors so real and funny, the writing so sharp, and the relationships so vivid and specific. They started with the greatest comedy cast ever assembled—and then added Woody Harrelson, Kelsey Grammer, Bebe Neuwirth and Kirstie Alley.

***THE SIMPSONS* (1989–PRESENT)** Genre-defining and obviously massively influential. For world-building, the only show that comes close to rivaling it is *The Wire*. And *The Simpsons* is *much* funnier.

***THE MARY TYLER MOORE SHOW* (1970–77)** It was the first "grownup" show I thought was funny. That cast was ridiculous. Besides Mary, who set a standard for "sitcom lead" that everyone since has had to live up to, they rolled out Ed Asner, Ted Knight, Cloris Leachman, Gavin MacLeod, Betty White and Valerie Harper, the most underrated comedy actor in the canon.

***227* (1985–90)** Florence was my favorite character on *The Jeffersons,* so I followed Marla Gibbs to her new show like I was following my favorite band on tour. Sandra's final-round answers, on the episode in which the Jenkins family goes on *Family Feud,* make that one of my all-time favorite sitcom scenes.

***MONTY PYTHON'S FLYING CIRCUS* (1969–74)** I recorded all the episodes on PBS and watched them over and over. In high school, my friends and I mounted a stage production of 20 or so sketches. The Python troupe members are the all-time world champs at silliness, which is still—if I'm being completely honest—my favorite genre of comedy.

Schur is the Emmy-winning creator of The Good Place; *his other writing or producing credits include* Saturday Night Live, The Office *and* Parks and Recreation

what kind of stories they could tell. Monica Lewinsky, once depicted as a villain, has re-emerged as a compelling and articulate activist. Tonya Harding and Lorena Bobbitt have been the subject of sympathetic re-evaluations. Feminists provoked by Trump and other male power brokers—wearing NASTY WOMAN and NEVERTHELESS, SHE PERSISTED T-shirts—handed the House of Representatives back to the first female Speaker, Nancy Pelosi, who stood her ground and forced the President to cave on his demand for border-wall funding after a long government shutdown.

Comedy is changing too. Stand-up specials like Hannah Gadsby's *Nanette* and shows like Amazon's *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel* have challenged assumptions about whether and how women get laughed at, and for what. Comedian Amy Schumer, who grew up watching *Seinfeld,* remembers finding the character of Elaine Benes revolutionary. "She didn't do the things that we're all taught, as women, to do: be selfless, control your impulses," Schumer says. "She had no interest in filling that role we'd all been sold about how women were supposed to be. That probably contributed to my development as a person as well as a comedian."

In comedy as in politics, everyone these days is trying to figure out the boundaries of acceptable behavior. The White House is occupied by an insult comic whose routines are laced with racism and sexism; meanwhile, comedians like Jerry Seinfeld grouse that they can't crack a joke without rousing the PC police. Louis-Dreyfus professes little tolerance for this kind of complaint, noting that *Veep* has spent plenty of time satirizing sensitive political topics without causing controversy. "I think as soon as people start bitching about 'politically correct,' it's a term for something else," she says. "I'm in favor of political correctness. I'm suspicious of those who have a problem with it. I think it is language for something else—for 'It's O.K. to make racist jokes,' or 'It's O.K. to make violence-against-women jokes.'" And yet, at a time when jokes are political and politics is a joke, America's reigning queen of comedy is telling us it's still O.K. to laugh.

> 'I'M IN FAVOR OF POLITICAL CORRECTNESS. I'M SUSPICIOUS OF THOSE WHO HAVE A PROBLEM WITH IT.'

LOUIS-DREYFUS IS a morning person. Here in Ischgl, a ski village on the Swiss border that makes up in Old World charm for what it lacks in vowels, Louis-Dreyfus has been up for hours before breakfast, editing *Veep* (which she also executive-produces) on her laptop before heading to today's film shoot.

Downhill is a mordant marital dramedy that's more cringe-funny than ha-ha-funny. Louis-Dreyfus and Ferrell play an upper-middle-class couple on a ski vacation whose marriage is shaken by a traumatic event. It's the first movie she has produced as well as starred in, and the role comes at something of a pivot point in her career. The past two years have been a blur of milestones, both good and devastating: her father died; her sister died, at 44, of a drug overdose; she was treated for breast cancer; her younger child went off to college; she received the Mark Twain Prize for American Humor; she won a record 11th Emmy, the most ever by a single performer. Now her cancer is in remission, and the empty nest makes it easier, she says, to do things like spend a couple of months in Austria, getting pelted with snow atop a glacier for her art.

In today's scene, Louis-Dreyfus and Ferrell sit next to each other on one side of a large desk, across from a bureaucrat with an intimidating red beard, played by *Game of Thrones*' Kristofer Hivju. (His cameo is a callback to the 2014 Swedish film on which *Downhill* is based, in which he played a different role.) "We wish to make a complaint," Ferrell's character says.

Louis-Dreyfus' character leaps in to clarify. "There was an avalanche that caused alarm yesterday," she says, her eyebrows arching to convey the import of what she's saying. The avalanche catches the couple and their children by surprise, and the husband and wife's differing reactions gradually drive a wedge in their relationship. The scene is an important one, revealing the shifting marital dynamic as Louis-Dreyfus finds herself caught between two men who refuse to validate her version of reality.

"Great, great, cut, cut," calls Nat Faxon, one of the directors. Louis-Dreyfus comes off the set still wearing her character's scowl. "Was it?" she says, consulting a monitor to make sure her arms were in the same place from one take to the next.

During a break, Ferrell, who's working with Louis-Dreyfus for the first time, analyzes her comedic gifts. "It's just her overall commitment to the character she's playing, and the absurdity of it," he says. "Not winking at the audience ever, but at the same time making fun of herself as the character."

Louis-Dreyfus was born in New York City. Her father was the billionaire heir to the family industrial conglomerate, the Louis Dreyfus

CLARA MOKRI FOR TIME

Group, which had interests in everything from shipping to natural gas. Her parents divorced when she was young, and she spent most of her childhood in Washington with her mother and stepfather. Growing up with pale, blond sisters, she considered herself the ugly duckling of the family, and has said she gravitated to comedy in part because she didn't think she was pretty enough to be a starlet—which sounds ridiculous, given how stunning she is. But she wouldn't be the first performer to use comedy as a combination of attention getter and defense mechanism.

During college at Northwestern University, she joined a Chicago theater troupe, where she stood out for her natural comic timing and willingness to do anything for a laugh. She also met the man who would become her husband, Brad Hall, a writer and producer. Hired by *Saturday Night Live* while still an undergraduate—she dropped out after her junior year—she moved to New York with Hall. But her three seasons on the landmark show were frustrating; she chafed at the lack of screen time and the male-dominated writers' room. After leaving *SNL*, she spent a couple of years at loose ends, playing forgettable roles, until the script for *Seinfeld* came along. It was a smaller part than others she was considering, but she liked the writing.

Elaine had been an unwanted addition to the show. *Seinfeld*'s creators envisioned a guy-centric sitcom; it was NBC that insisted they add a female lead. Louis-Dreyfus' attitude and physicality made Elaine iconic. Yet the part was chronically underwritten at first, and she spent years agitating for richer story lines. "I didn't think I was getting enough really meaty comedy stuff," she said in a 2006 DVD-extra documentary about the series. "I had stuff, but it wasn't, like, the really funny stuff." Peter Mehlman, one of the writers, said at the time that they were more comfortable writing for the outlandish male characters. "The mandate back then from Larry [David] and Jerry [Seinfeld] was, 'Write Elaine as if she were a guy,'" said Matt Goldman, another writer. On a show considered one of history's finest, the only way the writers knew how to fully realize the character was to imagine she was male.

When *Seinfeld* ended in 1998, its stars struggled to move on. Louis-Dreyfus eventually found success with *The New Adventures of Old Christine,* a CBS comedy in which she played a divorced mom trying to navigate family and romance. (Most of Louis-Dreyfus' characters have been single.) The show, for which she won an Emmy, ended in 2010 after five seasons.

THE 5 FUNNIEST BOOKS EVER

By Samantha Irby

DAVID SEDARIS, *ME TALK PRETTY ONE DAY* (2000) When I read this essay collection, I didn't know that you could view what you've gone through via a comedic lens and then work it out on the page. The story about his brother, the rooster: I remember being slack-jawed. I didn't know people could work through their trauma in this way.

CARL HIAASEN, *SKINNY DIP* (2004) The closest category I could put this novel in is like a caper: It's just chasing through Florida swamps with people trying to murder one another. There are alligators and fishermen and all these insane characters. It's really hilarious. And I love the idea of vengeful women: it's how I try to live my life.

ALLIE BROSH, *HYPERBOLE AND A HALF* (2013) She writes a lot about being depressed and anxious, accompanied by these super crude and hilarious cartoons. And it really is hysterically funny while also being painful in that way where you're like, "Oh, I recognize myself in this."

ISSA RAE, *THE MISADVENTURES OF AWKWARD BLACK GIRL* (2015) I saw so much of myself in her that it was almost shocking. Her voice, her phrasing—it's just like listening to someone you know tell all of these stories about her life: about being in chat rooms, eating alone or the extreme awkwardness you feel in social situations.

ALISSA NUTTING, *MADE FOR LOVE* (2017) There's a con artist who loves dolphins a little too much, a tech billionaire trying to kidnap his wife to put a microchip in her brain and so many other hilarious bizarro characters. It's a sharp and incisive skewering of tech culture and greed disguised as a zany screwball novel, and it's basically perfect.

Irby is the best-selling author of We Are Never Meeting in Real Life

THE MANY FACES OF JLD

She also landed her first major movie role in 2013's *Enough Said*. The film's director, Nicole Holofcener, recalls Louis-Dreyfus competing with her late co-star James Gandolfini to make the most outlandish faces with the fart machine Holofcener brought to the set. Louis-Dreyfus, Holofcener says, had a way of making men listen to her and a habit of sticking up for other women. "When Jim wouldn't listen to me—he'd say, 'Aw, I can't say that, I sound like a pussy'—Julia would sock him in the arm and say, 'C'mon, listen to her. She knows what she's doing.'"

Holofcener also directed Louis-Dreyfus in a memorable 2015 guest role on *Inside Amy Schumer,* a skit titled "Last F-ckable Day." Louis-Dreyfus plays herself—an actress of a certain age, picnicking in the forest with her friends Tina Fey and Patricia Arquette, celebrating a bittersweet milestone: the point at which women in Hollywood tip from playing men's love interests to playing their mothers. Other actresses, Schumer says, had turned down the role, but Louis-Dreyfus was game. "It speaks to how brave and down to comment on this clear but unspoken thing she was," Schumer tells me. The skit has since become something of a touchstone for women in all kinds of fields. Both Louis-Dreyfus and Holofcener say the filming of it left them shaken as the truth of the gag hit home.

Over the course of her career, Louis-Dreyfus has offered mentorship as well as inspiration to younger female comics. Abbi Jacobson, co-creator and star of the antic millennial slacker comedy *Broad City,* saw in Elaine a woman who could be goofy and dumb without being the butt of a man's joke. "The characters we created," she says, "are a direct result of watching that and being allowed to be that as a woman." Jacobson's co-creator, Ilana Glazer, cherishes Selina. "She's like a coach for living

SECOND CITY: COURTESY SECOND CITY; VEEP: LACEY TERRELL—HBO; SEINFELD, DAY BY DAY, ENOUGH SAID, THE NEW ADVENTURES OF OLD CHRISTINE, LONDON SUITE: EVERETT; CHRISTMAS VACATION, FATHER'S DAY, WATCHING ELLIE: PHOTOFEST; A BUG'S LIFE, NORTH: ALAMY; SNL: NBCU PHOTO BANK/GETTY IMAGES (2); EVERETT (3)

in a man's world," Glazer says. "She proves how much badder women are, because we receive so much f-cking trash, and we turn it into artillery."

Louis-Dreyfus sees progress in the advances women have made in the entertainment industry. "There's more opportunity for women in comedic roles than 20 or 30 years ago," she says. "There's more opportunity for roles that are not just the wife—the exasperated wife—or the girlfriend." She smirks and rolls her eyes. "The adoring, hot girlfriend."

THE NEXT DAY, Louis-Dreyfus, bundled up in a long, red Canada Goose parka, gets on a gondola to go up the mountain, where she's overseeing a scene at an outdoor restaurant. After we get off, she bends down and plucks a cigarette butt out of the snow. She keeps it pinched between two fingers as she walks through the ski lodge to where Ferrell and the actor Zach

THE 5 FUNNIEST MOVIES EVER

By TRACY OLIVER

***COMING TO AMERICA* (1988)** This movie continues to be a classic. Watching it as a kid, I thought all the characters that Eddie Murphy and Arsenio Hall played in the movie were hysterical. But even more than the comedy, I loved the scale of this film—the size of the wedding and the scope of the ceremony with the African dancers. It never feels like a small, cheap movie.

***BRIDESMAIDS* (2011)** I remember watching it in the theater and thinking, This will forever change the face of comedy. Not only was it about women, but they weren't all gorgeous, unrelatable women. *Bridesmaids* set the stage for us to pitch *Girls Trip* because we could point to another comedy starring women that was raunchy and successful.

***TRADING PLACES* (1983)** I watch *Trading Places* every time it airs. It also has a lot of social commentary hidden within the movie, which I love; it manages to say a lot about race and class without being overly didactic.

***WHEN HARRY MET SALLY* (1989)** I fell in love with Nora Ephron after watching this movie. I always go back to it when I write dialogue between two characters who are madly in love with each other, because you're hard pressed to find dialogue as sharp as this: It's basically a master class. It's still my favorite romantic comedy.

***BIG* (1988)** Tom Hanks is incredible, and there are so many funny, endearing moments in it. My favorite scene is when Tom Hanks and Robert Loggia play "Chopsticks" with their feet using the giant piano at FAO Schwarz. It's really well-written with lots of laughs, but a lot of heart.

Oliver is a screenwriter. She co-wrote Girls Trip, Barbershop: The Next Cut *and* Little, *which stars Issa Rae and arrives in April*

THE 5 FUNNIEST STAND-UP SPECIALS EVER

By TIG NOTARO

RICHARD PRYOR, *LIVE ON THE SUNSET STRIP* (1982)
It felt like I was definitely doing something bad or wrong: I would watch him with the TV turned down low and maybe two inches from the screen. His facial expressions and his delivery, with how high his voice would go in certain moments, would destroy me. As a child, I was like, "Oh man, I would be friends with this guy."

STEVE MARTIN, *A WILD AND CRAZY GUY* (1978)
I always describe myself as a no-nonsense person that's all nonsense. I feel like Martin has that, and that's what really spoke to me about him and this special. I imagine he's very no-nonsense—and one of the silliest, silliest people.

STEVEN WRIGHT, *A STEVEN WRIGHT SPECIAL* (1985)
I hadn't ever seen someone solely rely on their words in the way he did. Watching his stand-up is like reading a book—one of the funniest books. There wasn't the slightest inflection in his voice. There was no look on his face to indicate anything. It was purely words. That's serious power.

PAULA POUNDSTONE, *CATS, COPS AND STUFF* (1990)
I just thought she was such a bizarre person. She'll lie down on the floor. She'll hunch over the stool. You feel like you're sitting in somebody's living room who's telling really funny stories.

ELLEN DEGENERES, *TASTE THIS* (1996) This one little line from *Taste This* just destroyed me every time: She's talking about how she doesn't understand hunting, and says of a deer: "It's a poor little innocent animal thinking little deer thoughts: 'I wonder where the berries are. What's this on my hoof?'" I feel like that line was one of my biggest comedy influences.

Notaro is a stand-up comedian and actor. Her most recent special, Happy to Be Here, *was released on Netflix in 2018*

Woods are lying on chaise longues. Then she hands the butt to Ferrell. It's a running joke between them—"a bit we're doing," she tells me later.

"Oh, thank you, I love it!" Ferrell says, accepting the sodden butt. "Anybody got a light?"

Some comedy legends have learned lately that there is behavior they can no longer get away with. Of Louis CK, who's been trying to come back from his sexual-misconduct scandal by, of all things, mocking mass-shooting survivors, Louis-Dreyfus says she was "offended by his most recent comments," but also that he's a talented comedian.

Of Al Franken, the *Saturday Night Live* performer turned Senator who resigned after multiple women accused him of inappropriate touching, she says she hopes he makes a comeback. "He was and is an intelligent leader who got things done," she says, the jagged peaks forming a panorama behind her. "He was on the right side of the issues." What he's accused of, she says, "pales in comparison to what else is going on out there. This #MeToo revolution, I'm very much in favor of it, but it takes no prisoners." (Weeks later, she follows up with a phone call to clarify that her "default position is to believe victims.")

Growing up in D.C. gave Louis-Dreyfus an instinctive understanding of *Veep*'s milieu. Politics was ever present, but in an atmospheric, company-town sort of way. "Susan Ford went to my high school," she recalls of the 38th President's daughter, "but she was much older than me, so unfortunately, when they had the prom at the White House, I wasn't able to go." Another graduate of the Holton-Arms School was Christine Blasey Ford, who last year accused Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh of assaulting her in high school. (Kavanaugh denies it.) The two weren't contemporaries, but Louis-Dreyfus was one of 200 alumnae who signed a letter in support of Ford during last fall's confirmation drama.

D.C. insiders have long agreed that *Veep* nails Washington better than any other show. *The West Wing*, they say, is what people wish politics was like, but *Veep* is what it's really like. When it began in 2012, President Obama had just been re-elected, and much of the show's mockery targeted the political world's fussiness, formality and status-consciousness. Representative Katherine Clark, a Democrat from Massachusetts, has long been a fan; one of her favorite scenes features Selina, bedridden with flu, pulling herself together to film a televised address to the nation, then collapsing in her bathrobe. "It just goes to the

FROM LEFT: EVERETT; LARRY HULST—MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES; PHOTOFEST

difference between the curated presentation of her vs. the actuality," Clark says.

The show's writers and producers, including Louis-Dreyfus, labor over details, taking advantage of pols' fandom to consult them for verisimilitude. Supreme Court Justice Elena Kagan used to discuss the show with her late colleague Antonin Scalia. Vice President Joe Biden once had Louis-Dreyfus into his office for lunch, then whisked her along in the motorcade for a visit to the CIA, according to a former aide.

When Selina ran for President in Season 4, Louis-Dreyfus and a crew of writers sat down with former presidential candidate Mitt Romney for a lengthy debriefing. "I'm waiting for some kind of Emmy or whatever for passing that along," says Romney, now a Senator, of the wisdom he imparted. A *Seinfeld* die-hard, Romney says his favorite episode is "The Merv Griffin Show," adding, "I also quite enjoyed the Soup Nazi and Rusty, the farting horse." He's fond of *Veep,* too: "They make sure to be close enough to the truth to be uncomfortable," he says, though he allows that he wishes it had less swearing, which isn't the norm among his own political staff. "People are very gentle to me," he says. "They realize I have such tender sensibilities."

There's a peculiar challenge to political comedy in the Trump era, as an unconventional presidency gives new currency to the idea that truth is stranger than fiction. During the 2016 campaign, Hillary Clinton's communications director, Jennifer Palmieri, and her deputy, Christina Reynolds, watched *Veep* compulsively in their shared Brooklyn apartment. "Running against Donald Trump, it sometimes felt like we were living in a *Veep* episode," Reynolds says. "It was escapist for a while, but then it was kind of real." When Trump does something surreal on camera—like trying and failing to get the President of Mexico on speakerphone, or forgetting to sign a bill during a signing ceremony—fans often superimpose the footage on *Veep*'s distinctive closing credits.

What Louis-Dreyfus has learned about politicians, she says, is that "they're just people. That's all. Which is in one way comforting, and in another quite terrifying, given all the responsibility that they carry." Most of them, she believes, are trying to do the right thing. Louis-Dreyfus, whose Twitter profile shows her in a pink pussy hat, isn't so sure Trump fits that category. "He'd be funny if he didn't have the power he has," she says. "He's sort of a pretend, fake President. He's a complete moron, start to finish."

There's no reference to Trump in *Veep,* which takes place in a fictional world and doesn't identify Selina's political party, though it's implied that she's a Democrat. But in the coming final season, the humor had to become more outrageous to meet the moment, Louis-Dreyfus says. Situations that once seemed absurd—like the episode in which Selina tries to hunt down the anonymous staffer who called her the *C* word, only to find that everyone is guilty—now seem like toned-down versions of a real-life White House where senior officials take to the New York *Times* to accuse their boss of mental instability.

In the new season, Jonah Ryan, the lunk-headed staffer turned pol played by Timothy Simons, runs for President on a platform of unabashed idiocy. "You have the second lowest vaccination rate in the nation," he tells a crowd at one point. "When I'm President, you'll be No. 1!" It might be funnier if there weren't currently a measles outbreak in Washington State, which experts attribute to vaccination skeptics. Or if Trump hadn't spread the debunked conspiracy theory linking vaccines and autism, including in 2015 during a presidential-primary debate.

After an hour or so on the freezing mountaintop, we go inside the ski lodge to warm up—pushing past pink-cheeked skiers speaking German—to a dark room reserved for the film crew. For all her success, Louis-Dreyfus is still pushing for what she deserves. She has finally gained the creative control she spent so long demanding, and she plans to keep it that way. "It was a hard fight for me to be able to produce my own material," she says, leaning forward in her chair and resting her elbows on the table. "That was a long time coming. There was a lot of pushback. But, you know, I prevailed."

> 'THEY'RE JUST PEOPLE. THAT'S ALL. WHICH IS IN ONE WAY COMFORTING, AND IN ANOTHER QUITE TERRIFYING, GIVEN ALL THE RESPONSIBILITY THAT THEY CARRY.'

How, I ask, did she know she could do it, when the world kept telling her she couldn't? What made her so sure? Louis-Dreyfus tilts her head and pauses. When she speaks, it's with steely clarity: "I can honestly say that I have a sh-t ton of experience when it comes to making entertainment. So I think I have . . ." She stops, detects the note of insecurity in her phrasing, and decides to edit it out. "I don't *think*," she says, "I *have* a lot to add." ▯

LAUGHING STOCK

A new class of writers, performers and creators is rejecting tired tropes and redefining what it means to be funny in 2019

Bowen Yang
His viral lip-syncs of iconic TV and movie moments earned him a gig writing for *Saturday Night Live*

Amber Ruffin
The first black woman writer on late night is also a breakout star in front of the camera

Beth Newell and Sarah Pappalardo
Their site Reductress savagely parodies media targeted at women

Dan Levy
The creative powerhouse behind cult-hit sitcom *Schitt's Creek* brings a unique warmth and inclusivity to TV

PATTI HARRISON

Harrison is known for taking absurdist humor to new heights, whether she's reviewing exotic animals on YouTube or tweeting self-consciously vulgar jokes. As a part-Vietnamese trans woman, she's used to having a spotlight on her identity: "It's sensationalized, and I benefit from that," she says. In 2017, for example, she went on *The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon* to monologue about President Trump's anti-trans tweets; the clip went viral and landed her a recurring spot on the show. Since then, she's become a regular on the Hulu comedy *Shrill* and in the writers' room of the gross-out Netflix comedy *Big Mouth.* Yet Harrison, 26, is most proud of her self-described "dumb" humor, like when she pitches terrible fake TV shows. (*Son Boss,* a sitcom about a boss who promotes his infant son so many times that the baby becomes the father's boss.) "Being an ambassador is important," she says, "but if people want to listen to my political takes, they also have to listen to jokes about me murdering birds."

—Eliana Dockterman

DESUS + MERO

Freewheeling, inexhaustible and disorderly: No one captures the spirit of New York City quite like Desus Nice (legal name Daniel Baker) and the Kid Mero (Joel Martinez), the self-proclaimed "Bodega Boys" who began sharing their rapid-fire, rambling dialogue on a podcast in 2013. They have since graduated to hosting talk shows on Viceland and now Showtime—where they debuted *Desus & Mero* in February. Many talk-show hosts strain to stay on the edge of pop culture, but Desus and Mero, both 35, have the firsthand knowledge and wit to capture cultural trends as they break, reveling in the chaos of the moment. And while they're right in their wheelhouse taking on rap beefs, sneakers and their beloved Knicks, Desus and Mero are equally comfortable interviewing fellow Bronx native and Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez about the marginal tax rate.

The original podcast was recorded off the cuff, but the new show features a writers' room, improved graphics and skits (like a scathing parody of the Oscar-winning film *Green Book,* about an interracial friendship in the '60s). But the pair's spitballed rapport—and their Bronx pride—remain at the core of everything they do. "If we get a lot of complaints about, we 'talk too fast,' we're 'too Bronx-y,' that means we're scaring the Showtime audience and we're doing our thing," Desus says. "We're trying to bring our piece of the Bronx to the Showtime audience and bring Showtime to the Bronx."

—Andrew Chow

HARRISON: STANISLAW BONIECKI; DESUS & MERO: DINA LITOVSKY—REDUX; YOUNG-WHITE: JERRY MAESTAS; GETTY IMAGES (9)

JABOUKIE YOUNG-WHITE

"Millennial culture is fantasizing about all the medical procedures you'll get once you have health insurance." So tweets stand-up, social-media aficionado and recently hired *Daily Show* correspondent Young-White, 24, who's at the forefront of a new set reimagining what's funny for the younger generation.

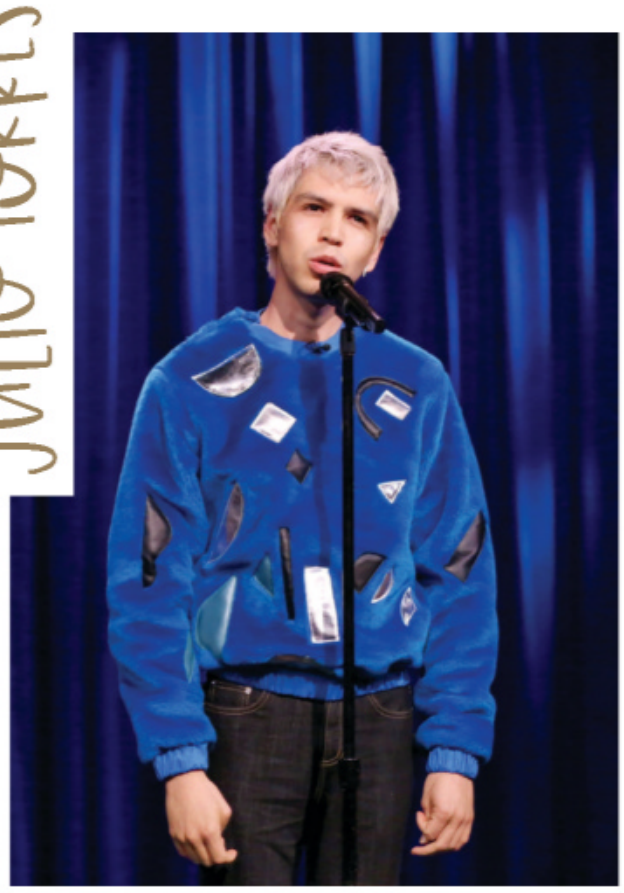
After years on Twitter, Young-White has built up a "reservoir of opinions" that he turns to when coming up with material for stand-up or TV. "The news can by very cyclical. The same issues are coming up over and over and over again," he says. "I go through my tweets while writing and be like, 'Oh, this has staying power and is still relevant.'"

Operating at the intersection points of his own identity—as a gay millennial of Jamaican descent coming of age in an era when things feel pretty grim—as well as the universal humor of meme culture, Young-White bucks the sensibilities that defined the humor he grew up with in the mid-'00s, when raunchy bros dominated pop culture and comedy everywhere. Instead of jokes about, say, "losing your virginity to a hot teacher," his material plays off the anxieties that plague young people contemporarily: the onset of climate change, massive student loan debt, taking drugs (prescribed or otherwise), and the sources of casual racism and homophobia are all points of inspiration.

"There's a lot of times when I just want to scream into the void," Young-White says. "But I might have a photo that puts a spin on it. That's me following that scream and making a meme out of it."

—Mahita Gajanan

JULIO TORRES



In his year and a half writing for *Saturday Night Live,* Torres, 32, has garnered acclaim for sketches unlike anything seen on the show before. From "Wells for Boys"—a viral satirical ad for toy wells made for sensitive kids to gaze into—to a sketch poking fun at the logo design for the movie *Avatar,* Torres has a knack for highlighting the mundane and finding surreal humor in it. "I saw a sink and just thought about it for months, and it ended up being a sketch," Torres says. "Little things stay with me." As a performer, the Salvadoran immigrant—set to star in the upcoming HBO series *Los Espookys,* which he co-wrote—is known for his "removed alien" delivery, which he attributes to growing up outside of the U.S. "It's informed by how I feel literally foreign sometimes," he says. "It's like taking that removal that was there to begin with—*Oh, I don't necessarily belong in this country or this open mic*—and magnifying that gap."

—Wilder Davies

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Maysoon Zayid
A Muslim comedian with cerebral palsy, Zayid champions representation of all kinds

Demi Adejuyigbe
Thanks to his inventive musical parodies, the *Good Place* and *Corden* writer has been dubbed the Weird Al of his generation

Maya Erskine and Anna Konkle
The duo play teen versions of themselves—in all their adolescent awkwardness—on *PEN15,* proving girls can be just as gross as boys can

Awkwafina
In *Crazy Rich Asians* and *Ocean's 8* her unfiltered, loopy personality stole the show

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TimeOff

SPEAK OUT
Laurie Halse Anderson, pictured in 1979, broke barriers with a 1999 novel about a teen's sexual assault. Now she's sharing her own story

INSIDE

A NEW DOCUMENTARY REVIVES THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST MICHAEL JACKSON

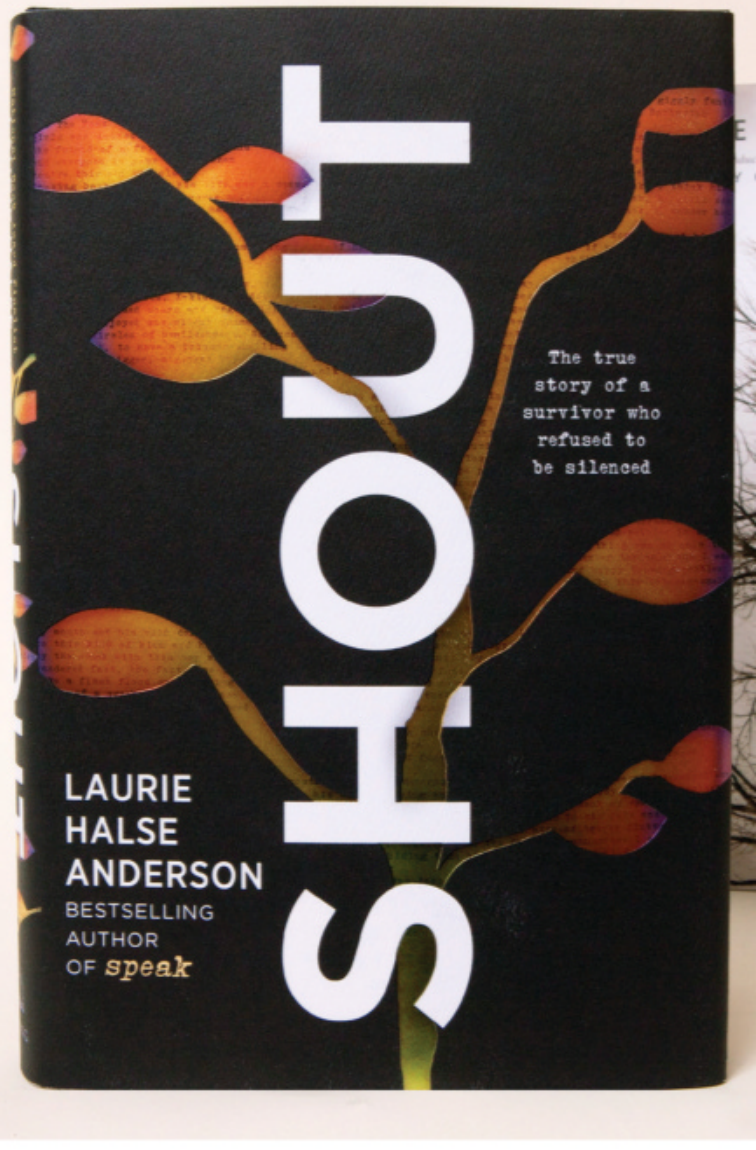
A FRESH TAKE ON MOMMY ISSUES IN THE PSYCHOLOGICAL THRILLER GRETA

IS FIRST ORDERNG A RICH DESSERT THE SECRET TO A HEALTHIER MEAL?

BOOKS

A voice for others speaks for herself

By Lucy Feldman



TWENTY-THREE YEARS AGO, LAURIE HALSE Anderson woke up to the sound of a young girl wailing. Pulling herself from bed, she rushed to check on her daughters. Both were sleeping peacefully. The cries, she realized, had come from her own nightmare—an image of a girl, broken and sobbing. She sat down to write about what she'd dreamt. Those midnight notes turned into Anderson's first novel, *Speak,* a landmark work of young-adult fiction about a 14-year-old girl's battle with depression after she is raped by an older peer.

In the 20 years since *Speak* was published in 1999, it has sold more than 3 million copies and won multiple awards. The novel has been analyzed in classrooms and adapted into a 2004 movie starring Kristen Stewart. In that time, Anderson's book-signing table has become a nondenominational confessional, a sacred site where those who have suffered sexual violence can lean in to whisper their stories in her ears. Now, inspired by the rising tide of the #MeToo movement and our national reckoning with abuse, Anderson is sharing her own story.

In *Shout,* a memoir written in free verse, out March 12, Anderson lays bare wrenching memories from growing up with an alcoholic father and a distant mother, as well as heartfelt tributes to survivors and hopeful calls for empathy and equality. She began writing in the fall of 2017, around the time that #MeToo took hold. "This book was written in rage, literally," she says, leaning against the wall of a Danish pastry shop in New York City in February. "Lines of poetry just started raining in my head." She's never published poems before, save for one in an anniversary edition of *Speak,* and couldn't guess whether her publisher would spring for a rage-lit collection. But at 57, she says, "I'm officially at the I don't give a f-ck anymore age."

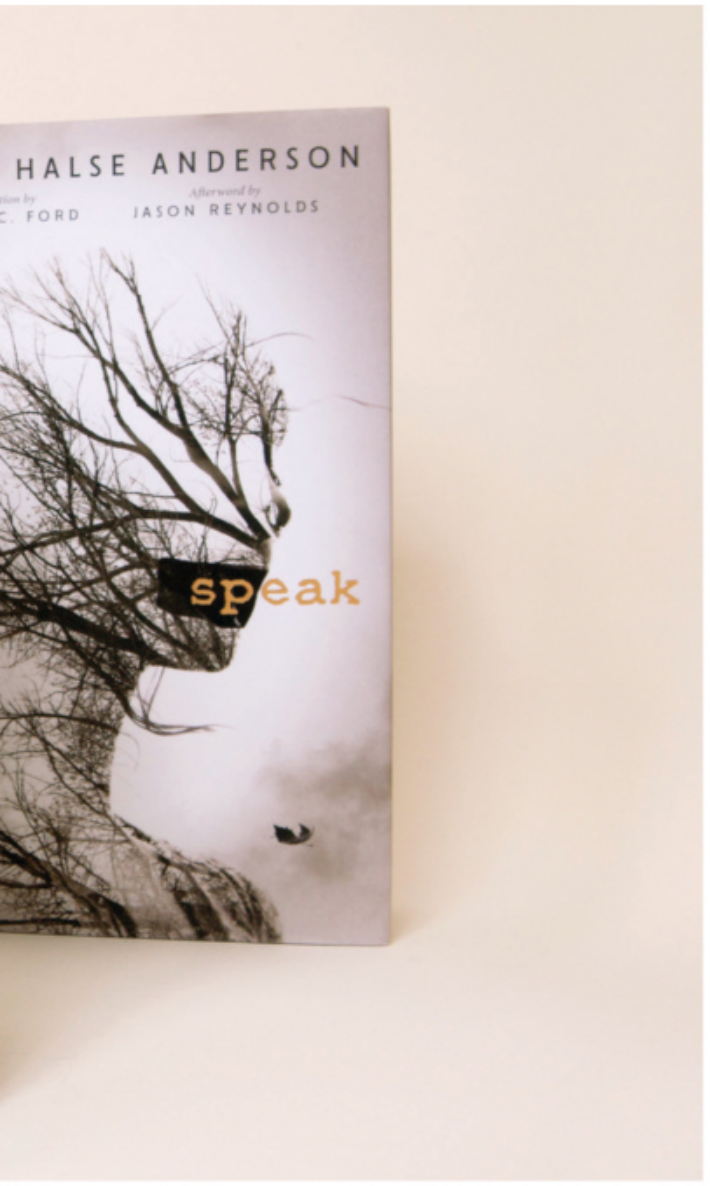
As a writer, Anderson has always been unafraid to go there. *Speak,* pioneering for its head-on discussion of rape, helped pave the path for a new generation of authors to tackle tough issues in books for teens, a defining feature of YA literature today. John Green, a YA heavyweight and one of the many who stand on Anderson's shoulders, called *Speak* "one of the first seriously good books published for teenagers to be read widely by them." Even so, the novel has weathered dissent, challenged for its heavy themes and even deemed "soft pornography" by a man seeking to ban it from Missouri schools in 2010. (Anderson wrote in response that any grown man who found the rape of a 14-year-old titillating had bigger issues, and Judy Blume stepped in to defend the book.)

With cheerful red glasses, a bright streak of white in her long hair and a cinnamon bun before her, Anderson in person emits approachable artist vibes—a stark contrast to the tone of *Shout,* which, well, shouts. Her poems raise urgent alarms, warning against the evils propagated by a culture that values dominance over respect.

When we meet, she is a little tired—her elder daughter gave birth to her first child the day before, and Anderson was at her bedside—but open. It's easy to assume that a woman who has made a side career out of speaking candidly with kids about tough topics—her other novels tackle alcoholism, eating disorders and self-harm, to name a few—has always been that way. But it wasn't until about five years after *Speak* came out that Anderson publicly shared her own truth. She was onstage at an Arizona high school the first time a kid asked if what happened to Melinda in *Speak* had happened to her, and she said yes: she was also raped, at age 13. She saw nodding heads around the room. "I didn't know then that I would be talking about this for the rest of my life," she says, "but that was when I knew that I was on a path I hadn't recognized." In *Shout,* Anderson uses her experiences to light a path for others to find purpose: "'Too many grown-ups tell kids to follow/ their dreams/ like that's going to get them somewhere/ Auntie Laurie says

Survivor stories

When *Speak* was published in 1999, Anderson wasn't ready to talk about her own experience of sexual assault as a teenager. In her new memoir *Shout,* written in poetry, she mines her personal history to call for change. Throughout her career as a speaker and writer, during which she has published about a dozen contemporary YA and historical middle-grade novels, she has encouraged young people to treat one another well. "I'd like to think I'm the Respect Lady," she says.



follow your nightmares instead/ cuz when you figure out what's eating you alive/ you can slay it."

SILENCE WAS A FAMILY TRADITION as Anderson grew up moving around northern and central New York. Her father Frank, a United Methodist minister, was a suicidal alcoholic, haunted by posttraumatic stress disorder after serving in World War II, during which he was assigned the harrowing task of cleaning up Dachau. He didn't speak to his daughter for 40 years about what he'd seen at war. Her mother Joyce, whom Anderson describes as resilient but prone to distancing herself from reality, looked past it the time her husband hit her. Following their example, Anderson didn't tell a soul when a new, older friend raped her on the rocks by the local creek one summer day. That is, until she was 38 years old, looking at her own teen daughter and realizing she needed to address her past to help protect her kids. Back when it happened, she faulted herself—she'd been wearing *those* shorts. She feared if she told her parents, they would blame her too, and worse—her father might shoot her attacker.

The first person Anderson told was a therapist. She describes that moment as a beautiful bone fracture, rebreaking something that had been wounded and healed improperly, so it could close up the right way this time. She is whole now. "I've walked my desert walk and come home in the night," she says. "I'm good." But her parents went to their graves never knowing the truth. Tears well in her eyes when she talks about it. "I would have wanted to hear that it wasn't my fault," she says. "And that they could make me feel safe again."

Anderson raised her own daughters, later alongside two stepchildren, with a bluntness that ran counter to her upbringing, understanding that being open about the little things might make them feel safer coming to her with big issues. She led her kids in saying *vagina, penis* and *testicles* out loud until the words became ridiculously funny and discomfort fell away. She required her children's would-be suitors to join the family for dinner before taking them out on dates. Her mother had dropped a box of tampons in the bathroom during her first period, leaving her to decipher the instructions. When her own daughter got her period, Anderson offered cheery congratulations and an armful of puberty books. Stephanie Anderson, now 33, remembers her mom persuading a gynecologist to see her in a hurry when she was 17, in love and ready to have sex, and she'll never forget hearing about the time her mom spoke to her 11th-grade English class about masturbation. (She stayed home sick that day.) "Things that I found very embarrassing as a teenager," she says over the phone while breastfeeding her newborn, "now I see, Wow, what a cool mom I had."

'I've walked my desert walk and come home in the night. I'm good.'

LAURIE HALSE ANDERSON, author and advocate

THE LINE OF FANS waiting to meet Anderson at the Strand Book Store grows longer by the minute, but she greets each face with fresh energy and requests permission to offer a hug. A few are satisfied with a selfie, but most linger. A high school teacher asks what to say to boys exhibiting signs of toxic masculinity: "Figure out if the kid is performing for an audience; don't judge them, but let them know what the laws are." A seventh-grader asks for writing tips: "Don't worry about the message, because every reader is different." Then a woman approaches, trembling, and drops her voice to disclose her story. Anderson grasps her hand and shares a wordless moment before offering advice, reassurance and a hotline number for the Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network. After a long hug, she looks into the woman's eyes. "Deep breath, ready?" The woman nods. "Go get 'em."

Sometimes Anderson weeps in the shower after a night like this. But far from a burden, she sees these stories as gifts. "People say, 'Oh, you're absorbing all that pain.' Really what it feels I'm absorbing is the trust that person is putting in me," she says. But for the thousands of stories she's heard, she can still be surprised. In *Shout,* she writes about the moment when, on the *Speak* movie set, a stocky male electrician walked up to her and said, "I am Melinda." Since then, she has worked to understand how sexual violence impacts people of different backgrounds. Surprise works the other way too. Boys still raise their hands during her school visits and ask why Melinda was so upset, since the assault couldn't have lasted long.

Just weeks after Anderson was raped, the boy who did it died in a blaze of performative bravado—she heard he lay down in the street at night and lost a game of chicken with an unwitting car. Anderson wept at his funeral, so relieved she wouldn't have to face him at school. But that boy lost the opportunity to become a better person, she says. "We have to do better by our teenagers, because they screw up—everybody screws up," she says. Our next steps, now that we've heard so many survivors' stories, are to help parents teach their kids about consent and seek restorative justice for victims. Anderson is optimistic, today in particular buoyed by the birth of Maxwell—her sixth grandchild, all of whom are boys. "Isn't that great? We get to help shape the next generation of testosterone," she says. "We can fix this. We have to." □

OPENING PAGE: COURTESY LAURIE HALSE ANDERSON; THESE PAGES: CLARA MOKRI FOR TIME

Robson, seen as a child with Jackson, alleges he was sexually abused by the superstar

TELEVISION

Michael Jackson's lost boys

By Judy Berman

SOMETIMES I WORRY WE'RE SO BUSY "believing" survivors that we've stopped listening to them. In the #MeToo era, reports of sexual misconduct have brought down many powerful men: Harvey Weinstein, Charlie Rose and Les Moonves, to name a few. But as we damn the accused, the stories of the non-famous victims of sexual assault and abuse often disappear into the shadows.

It's a relief, then, that the eloquent HBO documentary *Leaving Neverland* centers the plight of survivors. The two-part film, which airs March 3–4, offers damning evidence to support the long-standing accusations that Michael Jackson molested children. More remarkable is the way director Dan Reed and his courageous subjects, James Safechuck and Wade Robson, demonstrate how damaging—and complicated—the relationships between young victims and their abusers can be.

As an 8-year-old actor, Safechuck (now 40) starred opposite Jackson in a Pepsi ad. Thirty-six-year-old Robson taught himself dance moves that got him onstage with the King of Pop at 5. The men's accounts of their sexual encounters with the entertainer are precise, graphic and infuriating, but never sensationalized. Interviews with their families illustrate how one abusive relationship can damage many other bonds.

What complexifies the narrative is the loyalty these two survivors showed Jackson while he was alive, repeatedly maintaining that he'd never touched them. Abuse is usually framed as an assault on vulnerability, but *Leaving Neverland* reveals how Jackson preyed on his talented victims' drive to be exceptional; dazzled by professions of love from an artist the world adored, they saw themselves as his partners and protégés. "We were like this married couple," Safechuck recalls. The grimaces that often cross his face as he explains his prepubescent mind-set suggest both anger and pity for his younger self.

Leaving Neverland doesn't have the same urgency as Lifetime's recent *Surviving R. Kelly*; it's not as if Michael Jackson, who died in 2009, could still hurt anyone. It's the absence of that threat that allows for a broader inquiry into the fallout of sexual abuse. Survivors of all ages and genders will see themselves in this story. That's more than enough to justify its existence. ◻

MOVIES

Maternal love gone mad

Shopping for a new mom? See Neil Jordan's *Greta* before you allow one to adopt you. Winsome young Frances (Chloë Grace Moretz), still grieving over the recent loss of her mother, finds a handbag left behind on a subway seat. She dutifully returns it to its owner, lonely widow Greta (Isabelle Huppert), who wastes no time enveloping Frances in a creepy cocoon of motherly attention.

Jordan, who made his name in the 1980s and '90s with movies like *Mona Lisa* and *The Crying Game,* is still one of moviedom's stealth geniuses, coming up with imaginative, evocative pictures *(Ondine, Byzantium)* that don't always find a large audience. *Greta,* too, is beautifully made, even if it gives the game away almost immediately: you know poor Frances is in trouble the minute Greta opens the door of her fairy-tale-witch garden-level apartment. Still, the pleasures of watching these two actors circle each other, in an ever-tightening gyre of wry intrigue, aren't negligible, and Huppert—elegant and chilly in her wardrobe of silk-twill scarves and trench coats—is especially entrancing. Feeling feverish? Whatever you do, don't let her tuck you into bed.

—Stephanie Zacharek

Frances (Moretz) has mama drama

LEAVING NEVERLAND: HBO; GRETA: FOCUS FEATURES

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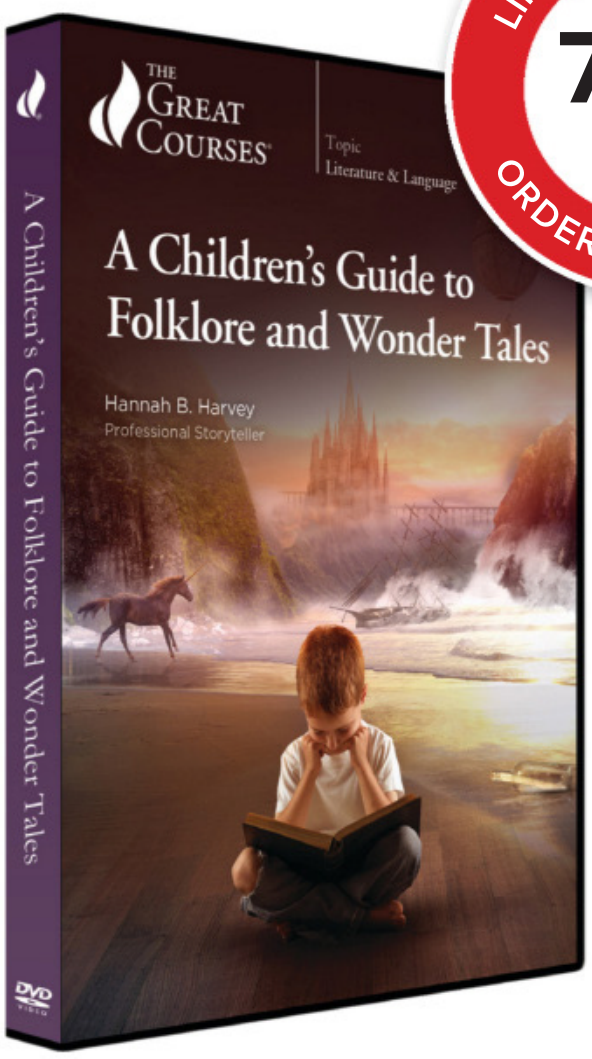

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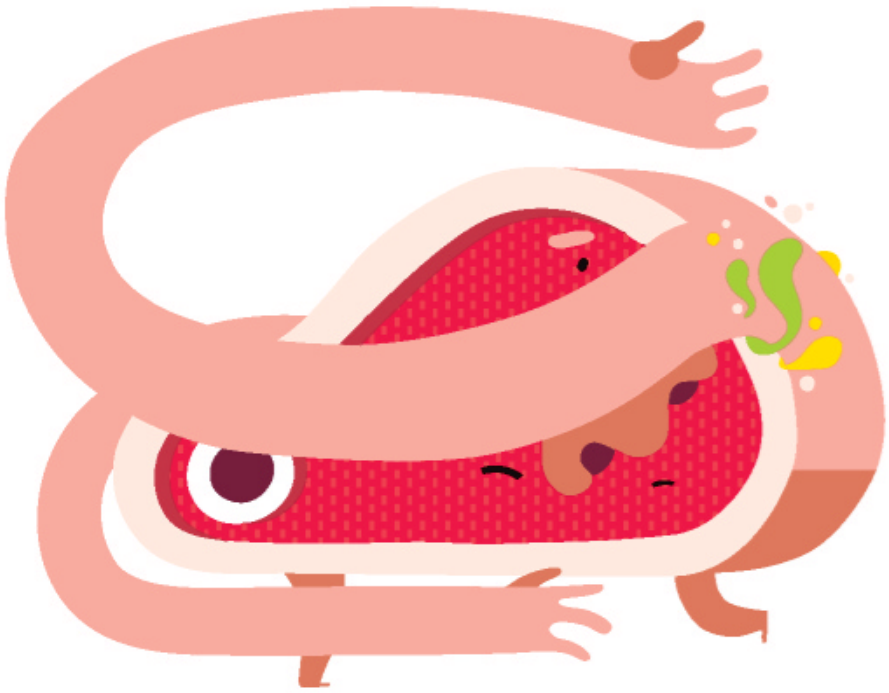

Learning what labels mean makes your food last longer

MOST AMERICANS ARE NEEDLESSLY TOSSING OUT PACKaged food—not because it's gone bad, but because they take the date stamped on it far too literally. That's according to a recent study published in the journal *Waste Management*, which surveyed more than 1,000 people about the phrases and dates on food packages.

Many Americans wrongly believed that food product dates—often prefaced by "best by" or "sell by"—are federally regulated and indicate the point after which the food is no longer safe to eat. (Neither is true: labeling decisions are made voluntarily by food companies and are meant to help consumers determine how fresh a food is, according to the USDA.) As a result, 84% of people throw out food when it's close to the package date at least occasionally, the researchers found.

'These are all dates of quality and freshness, not of safety.'

JANELL GOODWIN, U.S. Department of Agriculture

"These are all dates of quality and freshness, not of safety," says Janell Goodwin, a technical-information specialist with the USDA who wasn't involved in the study. "Best by" refers to when a food is at peak flavor or quality, she says. "Sell by" indicates how long a store should sell or display a product for inventory-management reasons. And the "use by" date is the last recommended day that a product can be eaten at peak quality, Goodwin says.

There's no reason to trash something just because its date has come and gone, she says. Instead, use your senses: Spoilage bacteria will typically produce a noticeable change in odor, flavor or texture. If none of these have developed, it's probably safe to keep your food. (You can help protect yourself from bacteria that cause food-borne illnesses, like *E. coli* and salmonella, by cooking or reheating foods to USDA-recommended temperatures.) The only product with a firm use-by date is infant formula, Goodwin says. Otherwise, you can usually trust your gut over the package date.

—JAMIE DUCHARME

ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX EBEN MEYER FOR TIME

Exercising might make you eat better

GETTING HEALTHY CAN BE A DAUNTING ENDEAVOR, BUT recent research suggests there may be a single best way to begin. According to a study published in the *International Journal of Obesity,* starting an exercise regimen may also inspire you to eat more healthfully.

"It's hard to start a diet. Most people feel deprived from the get-go," says study co-author Molly Bray, chair of the department of nutritional sciences at the University of Texas at Austin. "Instead of taking something away, you can add physical activity to your life, and the consequent changes may be significant changes in the way you eat."

For the study, researchers recruited more than 2,500 college students who said they didn't diet and hardly exercised. The students were put on a 15-week aerobic-exercise plan that involved guided cardio for 30 to 60 minutes, three times a week. Subjects filled out a diet questionnaire at the start and end of the study, and they were not told to change their eating habits.

'Positive results fuel adherence and persistence.'

MOLLY BRAY, University of Texas at Austin

But many of them did anyway. About 2,000 stuck with the exercise plan, and they were more likely than those who didn't to eat healthier foods without being told to, the researchers found. Many of the exercisers started making more nutritious choices, like eating fruits, vegetables, lean meats, fish and nuts, and consuming fewer fried foods, sodas and cookies. The more—and more vigorously—a person exercised, the more their diet tended to improve.

Psychology and biology are likely both behind the shift. "There's a lot of research that positive results fuel adherence and persistence," Bray says. Other studies have shown that exercise can stimulate and change brain function, which may spark an urge to eat more healthfully, she says.

"This is a gift you're giving yourself," Bray says, "and other really significant health changes can occur along the way." —J.D.

Eating dessert can help with your diet

THE CASE AGAINST DESSERT SEEMS OPEN AND SHUT. SUGAR has been linked to weight gain and some of the chronic diseases that go along with it, including Type 2 diabetes and cancer. Many desserts also have an abundance of saturated fats, which can harm the heart, and plenty of empty calories.

But recent research suggests that having an occasional dessert may actually be a useful tool for eating more healthfully.

In a study published in the *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Applied,* more than 130 university students and staff were offered a choice of two desserts at the start of the cafeteria lunch line. When people made the decadent selection—lemon cheesecake—they chose healthier meals and consumed fewer calories overall than those who picked fresh fruit. They didn't even have to eat the treat first; just selecting it was enough to influence the rest of their order.

Almost 70% of the people who took the cheesecake went on to choose a healthier main and side dish, but only about a third of the people who took fruit did so. People who took the cheesecake also ate about 250 fewer total calories during their meal compared with people who chose fruit.

'Be mindful and conscious about the different choices you make.'

MARTIN REIMANN, University of Arizona

"If we choose something healthy first, then this gives us a license to choose something bigger later," says study coauthor Martin Reimann, an assistant professor of marketing and cognitive science at the University of Arizona. "If you turn it around and choose something heavier early on, then this license is already expired." Making a calorie-heavy choice first seems to steer people toward healthier options.

Dessert shouldn't be an everyday indulgence—and there's nothing wrong with ending a meal with fresh fruit, of course. But when you decide to partake, doing so strategically can pay off. "Be mindful and conscious about the different choices you make," Reimann says. —J.D.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY ALEX EBEN MEYER FOR TIME

Doug Jones The Alabama Senator, who won a surprising electoral victory in 2017, on the Democratic field, the Klan and his chances of being re-elected

What does the Alabamian writer Rick Bragg mean when he says in the introduction to your new book, *Bending Toward Justice*, that there are too many ghosts in Alabama? There is often an undercurrent of racial tension in the state that people have a hard time getting over. And they really have a hard time talking about.

Just this month there was an editorial in an Alabama newspaper calling for the Klan to ride again. How can this be? It's like the ghost that appears in your worst nightmare. It comes to the front, and you realize that yes, we have gone very far, but we've got a ways to go. There are people in this state, and this country, that have feelings about race that are very, very strong.

Your book is about the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in 1963, which resulted in the deaths of four girls, and your role in bringing some of the bombers to justice as a prosecutor. Why write a book about this now? It's important with cases like this to have a written history of how it all came together and how things have changed so people can look at it and understand it. Second, I think we are backsliding on civil rights and voting rights. We saw it in the courts with the *Shelby County v. Holder* decision [which struck down part of the 1965 Voting Rights Act], but we're also seeing it in a broader sense.

A cynic might say that you're publishing this book now to remind voters of your civil rights bona fides. Would you like to address that? Well, yeah, I can see that. But this book has been in the works for a long time.

You won your Senate seat in a close special election against Roy Moore, a controversial figure facing sexual-assault allegations. Do the Republicans just have to nominate a normal person in 2020 to defeat you? That underestimates the people of Alabama. It's a fairly tribal state, but you're basically saying to folks that they don't think, and they're not going to look at candidates. Anybody I run against is going to run so far to the right, they will essentially be a lapdog. There will be people who want that, but I just give the people a lot more credit.

'I THINK WE ARE BACKSLIDING ON CIVIL RIGHTS AND VOTING RIGHTS'

Given that your time in public office may be short, why did you choose to make your first speech on the Senate floor about gun violence? To bring attention to the fact that there are measures that we can do while we still respect the Second Amendment, with regard to background checks, the "boyfriend loophole" and reporting. I thought that message coming from a gun owner and an avid hunter might resonate more than the usual suspects'.

Do you think Donald Trump will be re-elected in 2020? I think folks will underestimate him, simply because of the way he conducts himself. I do worry that there's too many in the Democratic Party who think, "Oh, we can't lose this." Well, we can.

Do you have a favored candidate to beat him? You've got to have a candidate that talks to the heartland of America. It's no secret I think Joe Biden fits that bill better than anyone. We tried the chaos thing and I just don't think it's working. We're looking for a transitional candidate, who respects the institutions of government, who believes they work for all people, not just himself.

Is it true, as your book's intro claims, that you're a terrible fisherman? I love Rick Bragg, but he says some things that you just can't rely on. There is an element of jealousy with him. —BELINDA LUSCOMBE

COURTESY DOUG JONES

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